20c NOVEMBER 17, 1952

IKE CARRIES THE GOP: REPORTS FROM 6 STATES

New Republic

WAYNE MORSE
ESTES KEFAUVER
HUBERT HUMPHREY

On

THE CONTINUING CAMPAIGN

THE ONE-PARTY PRESS PAYS OFF

An analysis of 21 newspapers and the part they played in electing Eisenhower

NOV 14 1952
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HOW VIRGINIA WENT REPUBLICAN

WORKING FOR IKE in Virginia was fun—like going to a fraternity house party at a swanky college: all the best people were there. As Martin A. Hutchinson, a leader of the Democratic forces opposing United States Sen. Harry F. Byrd's Virginia machine, put it:

"The arrogant rich were never before so arrogant, and the station-wagon aristocracy dragged the middle-class voters along with it."

For the first time in Virginia, open support of a Republican was not only socially acceptable, but socially desirable. One concession was made to the Democratic Party label fetish that goes back to Reconstruction days: the support was built around an organization called Virginia Democrats for Eisenhower.

With some $500,000 to spend and 30,000 workers in 104 local organizations, the Democrats for Eisenhower, with the help of some 125,000 Republicans, rolled up about 350,000 votes for the General.

With about $15,000 and a handful of workers, the Democratic State Central Committee did little to add to the Stevenson vote, although a few members of the Committee tried hard. The 270,000 votes for Stevenson came primarily from union members, Negroes, small farmers, intellectuals and those for whom the party label still is sacred. The Stevenson vote was 34 percent above the Democratic vote in 1948, when Truman carried the state, and eight percent above the highest previous Democratic vote in traditionally Democratic Virginia, but it was not enough.

The anti-Truman, pro-Ike vote was 60 percent larger than the combined Thurmond-Dewey vote in 1948 and 110 percent above the previous all-time Republican vote cast for Hoover in 1928.

Only two of the state's 10 Congressional districts went for Stevenson, the industrialized Second District, around Norfolk, and the agricultural Fourth. The only beam of light in an otherwise dark picture for liberals was the steadfast support of the national ticket by small tobacco farmers. Halifax county, for instance, the home of former Gov. William M. Tuck, the most extreme of the anti-Truman leaders, went for Stevenson. From this ostensibly Republican sweep, the Byrd Machine emerged stronger than ever.

Under a convenient peculiarity of Virginia law, as interpreted when such rulings were needed by three state attorneys-general, voters may cast their ballots for Republican Presidential nominees and remain in good standing as members of the Democratic Party of Virginia. (Republicans for years have been able to invade Democratic primaries for state offices in support of Byrd Machine candidates.)

The magnificently efficient organization of the Democrats for Eisenhower was constructed primarily by Byrd Machine men using organization lists from which to recruit experienced precinct workers. The money at first came from the same conservatives who provide finances for machine campaigns.

But the stroke of political genius was in "mousetrapping" the anti-organization forces in the state into believing the formal Democratic Party structure would be sufficient to carry the state for Stevenson.

In the 1948 campaign, when leaders of the machine sat on their hands or went fishing or worked in their apple orchards, anti-Byrd men such as Hutchinson, Francis Pickens Miller and Robert Whitehead set up an organization to back the national Democratic ticket. This year, Gov. John S. Battle and the State Central Committee endorsed the national ticket. Senator Byrd had made no pronouncements in the 1944 or in the 1948 campaigns, and it was logical to assume he would make none this year.

Although Tuck had stepped down as State Chairman of the party because he said he could not support the national ticket, his successor, Richmond's former mayor T. Nelson Parker, was a Byrd man and had promised a vigorous campaign. Early in the campaign Battle made two brief speeches in support of Stevenson.

Parker had been told by Byrd that "it was all right" for him to accept the chairmanship of the committee, which indicated that Byrd was going to sit this one out.

And as the campaign hit the home stretch, when it was too late for effective organization by the anti-organization group, Byrd and Tuck made statewide radio broadcasts repudiating the national ticket.

The Stevenson supporters attempted to persuade Battle to go on the air to counter the effects of the blasts against Stevenson made by Byrd and Tuck, but the best they could do was to piece together tape recordings of Battle's earlier statements. The implication, which the Democrats for Eisenhower exploited, was that Battle had reversed his earlier sentiments of support to the national ticket.

The Democrats for Eisenhower took no active part in the Congressional races. Three Republicans rode in on Ike's landslide, but it is doubtful if all of them can remain in Congress very long.

Robert V. Hatcher, chairman of the Eisenhower Democrats, said the day after the election that in the group were "old line Democrats" who "far from breaking away from the party, will strengthen it."

An all-out effort by the Byrd machine could probably take back at least two seats anytime.

For the liberal, it makes little difference: the voting records of Virginia Republicans and Byrd Democrats in Congress would be very similar. In fact, swapping around probably would be better. The switching would prevent the amassing of seniority.

Richmond BARRY DAVISON

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE CAN SEE no reason why the Democrats should not win the Presidential election of 1956. After 20 years in office—which is long enough for any party—the Democrats have just been defeated. Demoralization in Justice, Treasury and other departments had reached a point where the Party deserved defeat, though we doubt whether this was the paramount reason it happened. But in the 1952 election one fact stands out, a fact that will be minimized by Republicans and exaggerated by Democrats but which can hardly be denied: Although Ike won the popularity contest by 6 million votes, the Republican Party suffered a humiliating set back. It hitched its wagon to Five Stars and then only barely carried Congress. A Presidential landslide failed to produce an equivalent Congressional landslide. The voters expressed confidence in Ike, not in his party. Nothing like this has been seen in modern history.

In 1948 Truman squeaked through with 49.9 percent of the popular vote and got a majority in the House of 46 seats. In 1952, war hero Ike got 55.4 percent of the popular vote, and his party won only a one-vote majority in the Senate and what looks like an eight-vote majority in the House. The latter is one of the four smallest majorities since 1855.

It is an almost universal rule that the party winning the Presidency loses some strength in Congress two years later in the mid-term election as the coattail riders are knocked off. Undoubtedly Ike's popularity elected some GOP Congressmen. If this rule holds true the Democrats will take over Congress in 1954. Another rule of thumb is that the party which takes control of Congress at mid-term wins the next Presidential election. Undoubtedly we shall be accused of whistling to keep our courage up. Very well, then; but we assure you that the facts are as we say.

Ike ran ahead of his party because, for one thing, he promised the very things his party has opposed—increased social security, 90 to 100 percent parity for agriculture, a floor under wages, full employment and no recession. Ike made an astonishing change in position in the final three weeks. In New England he talked like a New Dealer. At Lynn, Mass., October 22, he promised that if merely "any sign on the horizon" of recession appeared, he would marshal "the full power of government." At Manchester, N.H., he pledged "expanded" social-security measures and "better" unemployment insurance. The "new Eisenhower" talked like a cross between Leon Henderson and Harry Hopkins. It was an astonishing change for those who had heard him denouncing federal bureaucracy before, up and down the country.

Can Ike carry out his pledges? There is no use beating about the bush. No, he can't. At one place in the campaign he pledged an end to segregation in the District of Columbia, even while Governor Byrnes was all but carrying South Carolina for Ike on a passionate pro-segregation crusade. Congress won't end segregation in the District. Again, Ike pledged 90 percent farm parity at Kasson, Minn., but his own party fought that in Congress and Senator Aiken (R, Vt.), the new chairman of the Agriculture Committee, favors a sliding scale.

There is no use being vindictive about this situation. The election is over. The anti-Truman Scripps-Howard papers have ceased publishing weekly accusatory Korean casualty figures in big print on front pages because now Ike must take responsibility. It would be savage —and unfair—to repeat some of the arguments against him that were used against the Administration: "Why doesn't he settle the Korean War?" Doesn't he know that every time he hits

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a golf ball in Georgia a GI dies in Korea?" These were good bloody, rabble-rousers in our campaign frolic, but we must be responsible now.

Another factor is that men of good will must soon be supporting Ike against his own precious team in Congress. We shall have two years of coalition, with Taft the most powerful figure in the legislature. A reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, of all papers, surveys the new GOP chairmen in the House and observes (Nov. 6) "a more conservative crew could scarcely be imagined." The new chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee is Representative Velde (R, Ill.), former FBI agent, who introduced a bill to require the Library of Congress to list all books that could be regarded as subversive, and proposed a non-Communist oath be taken by all citizens to vote in national elections. There is a band of so-called "nationalist" GOP Senators to handicap in foreign affairs and, what is worse, a GOP tradition for tariff protection at a time when the free world must increase trade or lose to Communism.

If Democratic liberalism is to win again shortly, Adlai Stevenson, its principal asset, must be retained. Stevenson talked sense to the American people, but he didn't have time to do it long enough. He emerges now with remarkably few enemies, a man of character and inspiring eloquence. Conservative Southern Congressmen will try to take over the party again, but they also want their committee chairmanships back and they cannot get them back save as a national party. Except for the extremists they are likely to see reason. So, summing it up, the Democrats have taken a resounding licking but, for the life of us, we can't be too despondent. It will be fun to be in opposition for a while.

Note: Several readers have accepted last week's McCarthy-Dies "letter" as genuine; to end all doubts it was intended as satire. We thought we made that clear by calling it "as authentic as other material" presented by Joe.

Washington T.R.B.

Letters

Let's Keep Stevenson Going

● This is an appeal from a plain citizen who has no official political connections with any organization:

Would it not be possible for the New York *Post*, the *New Republic* magazine and other liberal publications to continue to solicit funds for Stevenson radio and television appearances?

If Stevenson could be brought back on the air from time to time, 25 million or more Americans who voted for him will know that their strength is being welded for the future. Doubtless this idea has occurred to housands of citizens whose appetite for an honest political education has been whetted by this campaign.

New York City DON WILCOX

[We would like other readers to express their views on this suggestion – THE EDITORS.]

Our Free Press

● Here is a story in itself about the freedom of the press. It should really be entitled "Which Page of St. Paul *Dispatch Pioneer Press* Do You Read?" On October 8, the paper printed an editorial which read:

Governor Stevenson made a major address at Detroit Tuesday night. He did the considerable feat of talking about Communists in the government without even mentioning Alger Hiss. . . .

In the same issue, on the same day, the reporter, covering Stevenson's speech, wrote:

Stevenson tonight mentioned for the first time in his campaign the Communist charges against Alger Hiss for whom he once signed a loyalty deposition. He deviated from his prepared text in a Detroit speech to recall how Communist agents found ready converts among the unemployed at the depth of the depression. . . .

St. Paul, Minn. J. F. GRIFFIN

Words, Slogans and Politics

● In the October 6 issue of *New Republic* you make the following statement; "It is not unnatural, therefore, that the drive against Communism has degenerated into a drive against liberalism and intellectualism."

It is unfortunate, if true, if Communism has become confused in our thinking with "liberalism and intellectualism," since by no manipulation can it be squeezed into either category. I am concerned, however, in your use of these terms "liberalism and intellectualism." They tend to take on the qualities of slogans and might be used just as carelessly and undiscerningly as "freedom," "patriotism," etc. The problem that some of us are facing is the definition of such terms. What does liberalism and intellectualism really mean, and specifically, what do they mean in terms of economic and political relationships? Since none of these words, as slogans or as a way of life, can be seen purely objectively what do they signify in terms of orderly social relationships? What are the bounds of liberalism and intellectualism? There is no society without controls and limits of some kind.

I recognize the near-impossibility of making these terms definitive, but I feel we ought to be more circumspect in our use of them and perhaps take some time to formulate what we mean when we say them. . . .

Wilbraham, Mass. DONALD E. SMITH

A Good Thing

● My renewal subscription card received today—thanks for reminding me.

I wonder how I have missed such a good thing all my life, (I am nearly 80 years old). But from now . . . until the old man with the scythe beckons me, I am going to have the *New Republic*.

Long Beach, Calif. A. A. BOYLE

Bandwagon

The Crux of the Issue

She [Clare Booth Luce] defended Nixon's signing of a lease containing a clause barring Negroes, on the grounds the the practice is so common as to be of little meaning. "At the time, he had no idea of being Vice-President," she added. – *From the Chicago* Maroon, *University of Chicago student's weekly.*

A One-Party Radio

Moscow radio played the American elections safe today. At 5 a.m., long after Dwight Eisenhower's victory was assured, Moscow radio broadcast this report: "Yesterday the people of the United States voted to elect a President, a Vice-President, members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives." Then the broadcast turned to other "news." – *From the Washington City News Service.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

STUBBED TOES AND HARDENING ARTERIES

ADLAI STEVENSON did not lose the 1952 campaign; the American people recorded their support of our two-party system and their new-found belief in him. Before the long struggle for peace is over, history will record that it was Stevenson who won.

It was the challenge of Stevenson's candidacy that halted the Old Guard's drive for the Republican nomination. It was the brilliance of Stevenson's campaign that compelled Eisenhower to reaffirm commitments which, if they are honored, will keep the Old Guard out of power. Stevenson proved that a man who conceded nothing, withheld nothing and promised nothing that he could not keep could win more votes than any successful candidate had gained before. He set standards for moral courage that will inspire good men and haunt backsliders from this time forever forward. He brought into action a new generation that thrilled to his leadership.

The task now is to keep together those who came together behind Stevenson; and to keep before the nation his clear perception and bold spirit. It is no easy task. The Volunteers, by definition, are not party workers who cover the precincts 52 weeks a year. Stevenson alone of all the contenders for the nomination does not return to a position in public life which serves as a platform to state his view. Yet he has accepted the role of party leadership, and his office (like ours) is flooded with offers to help. We hope that Stevenson will create a new platform as working Chairman of the Democratic Party. In any case, between Stevenson and his supporters a way will be found.

When do we start? There are those who argue that we should now sit back and wait, give Eisenhower a chance and see what he can do. We believe they are mistaken. Errors of judgment and surrenders through weakness in the next few months can cripple this nation's hopes for years to come. By stealth and indirection, such as cuts in the budget, the best of the Fair Deal programs can be destroyed without a hand being raised against them in the public view. Stevenson in attack was fair but also sharp, and present at the point of every weakness. In opposition, the same spirit must guide the movement he has created. It must not allow "fairness" to become a cloak for lethargy, or an attitude of "wait and see" to lead us to stand by while new tasks are bungled and old achievements undone.

Thousands of us stubbed our toes with Stevenson. With him we all felt "too old to cry and too hurt to laugh." But stubbed toes soon heal. Organization is needed, and funds to keep Stevenson on the air. A small chink in the one-party press, this paper will work to keep advancing the mighty force he set in motion.

II

Eisenhower won the Presidency on promises. Stevenson refused to make promises he knew no mortal could redeem. Eisenhower not only made them, he set his promises apart from those of other politicians by first condemning the Administration for its faithlessness and then advancing his own commitments as crusader's oaths.

To all the nation, on the weekend before it went to the polls, Eisenhower issued "a brief summary of the pledges I have made." He declared: "These pledges I renew. They are an expression of my beliefs and my purposes. They constitute a program of progress."

I pledge that if elected, the President . . . will serve all the people . . . irrespective of how they voted.

I pledge that the social gains achieved by the people, whether enacted by a Republican or Democratic administration, are not only here to stay but are here to be improved and extended.

I pledge a restoration of integrity and competence. The new administration will not tolerate any deviation from an uncompromising code of honesty and ethics. . . .

I pledge that the full resources of our new administration will be thrown into the battle against inflation.

I pledge an elimination of waste, inefficiency and duplication in government. . . .

I pledge I will support and strengthen, not weaken, the laws that protect the American worker. I will defend him against any action to destroy his union or his rights. I will enlist every resource . . . to protect him against the awful consequences of depression and joblessness.

I am personally committed to the present law respecting farm rice supports for basic farm commodities. . . .

I pledge to devote myself toward making equality of opportunity a living reality for every American. There is no room left in America for second-class citizenship.

I pledge to stamp out disloyalty in government. . . . We will not engage in witch hunts or character assassination.

I pledge a firm consistent foreign policy. . . . The free

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world must remain strong and united in a system of mutual security.

In addition, of course, Eisenhower all but promised "peace with honor" in Korea.

Is it tactless now to remind the President-elect of his commitments? We don't think so. Repeated over and over, these commitments won for Eisenhower. They permitted the desire for change to overcome the fear of change to the Republican Party. So they gained 65,000 votes on the Liberal Party line in New York, and carried the East and West coasts. Even in the Middle-West Eisenhower, the all-provider, ran 225,000 votes ahead of Bricker in Ohio, 120,000 ahead of Potter in Michigan, 122,000 ahead of Jenner in Indiana, and 114,000 ahead of McCarthy in Wisconsin.

Now, thanks to Eisenhower, these men and their friends are entrenched on Capitol Hill. They will insist that Eisenhower's program should be dumped as "campaign oratory." So the role of independents and liberals is plain—*it is to learn Eisenhower's "Program for Progress" by heart and never to let Eisenhower forget it.*

Confronted with a Congress organized by Taft, Eisenhower's temptation will be to sacrifice integrity in the name of unity; to escape from the bitter struggles of chief executive to the rarefied calm of a constitutional monarch. This he cannot be allowed to do. Depression looms as the ultimate but inevitable result of a surrender to the Old Guard. Overseas, conflicts are mounting today which a surrender to Taft's isolationism could transform into irreparable catastrophe. More than ever, given these threats, the President must exert his powers as party leader and chief executive. For Eisenhower, personal triumph bears with it personal responsibility.

If Eisenhower accepts this responsibility, he will need as chief executive, a White House staff of far higher stature and ability than the staff employed by President Truman. He will need in key executive posts, such as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the very best men he can claim. He will need to re-establish the direct contact with pressure groups that was lost under Truman when these groups discovered that the Congress was the place from which to put on the squeeze. He will need to understand that a critically important task of the President is to bring the country to bear on the Congress. Roosevelt succeeded brilliantly in this role; Truman consistently failed. Eisenhower will have to reach the nation directly and continuously and dramatically, as Roosevelt did, if he is to carry his program through.

Eisenhower's second task is to surround himself with men who share his purposes. He needs a strong cabinet, directly answerable to him, and uniquely of his creation. If the Old Guard gains access to the Cabinet, Eisenhower will lose in the end.

Beneath the Cabinet are the scores of key policy jobs, best staffed by Eisenhower's own men. The men are available. The shift from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party conceals the reality that Republicans such as Paul Hoffman, John McCloy and William Draper have held top posts in the Administration for the past 12 years. These men know that in broad outlines, the major programs they helped to initiate must be continued and developed.

If Eisenhower decides to place able and open-minded men in responsible field positions, he will make inevitable a struggle with the Congressional Old Guard. For the responsible men in the field will demand bold and generous action, seeing it as vital to our national interest. The Congressional Old Guard, lacking vision and responsibility, will disagree. The conflict between Congress and the executive is traditional and deeper than party. It will be accentuated now because of the split in the Republican Party, the lack of patronage power in Eisenhower's hands, and the fact that the new committee chairmen regard Eisenhower as an inexperienced amateur who will accept their dictation.

The power to dictate rests in Taft's hands. As chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, Taft screens and shapes all legislation. Behind him, as committee chairmen, stand his supporters—Millikin, to remake the tax program, Bridges to handle appropriations, Capehart, to pass on economic measures, McCarthy, to hold a whip hand over all government departments through his investigation and subpoena powers. Taft's supporters outnumber Eisenhower's 25 to 20 among Senate Republicans. Only a strong policy in organizing the Congress and indicating a willingness to work with internationalistic Democrats can maintain Eisenhower's leadership.

If Eisenhower asserts his leadership, he can accomplish a great deal. The many commissions now engaged in reviewing the broad lines of government policy confirm that Democrats as well as Republicans know that this is a time for change. In Europe the economic aid phase of our world leadership is ending. In Asia, it has hardly begun. If he is wise, Eisenhower can fulfill the promise of the administration's programs and employ the strength created by years of effort to reach limited agreement with the Russians. In the event that he falters, a liberal nation, a revitalized party and a great candidate will be ready in 1956.

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THE WEST—EYES ON KOREA

by Richard L. Neuberger

KOREA did it. No one who spoke to many people on the Pacific Coast in the closing days of the campaign could fail to realize that General Eisenhower's carefully phrased promise to fly to the battlefront lit a light in thousands of homes. Of course, he would have won without the promise. But its instant popularity, particularly along the seaboard, demonstrated that Korea had been the dominant issue ever since the nominating conventions last summer.

The sweep was complete. It extended even into the state of Washington, where the Democrats thought they were impregnable in Presidential elections. It spared no strongholds. In Oregon counties populated largely by CIO loggers and lumberjacks, Eisenhower led Stevenson in every precinct. California's Central Valley, heavily dependent on federal irrigation programs, gave overwhelming support to a man whose views on reclamation were framed in the most ambiguous terms.

Local issues never figured in the national referendum. Clark County, Wash., has benefited more from public power and rural electrification than almost any other realm in the Northwest. It has a Public Utility District which bought out the utility company and lowered rates. It is the site of a vast aluminum plant which uses Bonneville power and employs many people. But Clark County voted for the Presidential candidate who hinted that federal dams were "creeping Socialism."

A farmer in Clark County, whose house and barn get juice off the Bonneville line, summed it up, "Getting my boy out of Korea is more important to me than electric lights and milking machines. I'll go back to kerosene lamps if it will hurry him home."

To the voters it was first things first. This, to them, meant Korea. Innumerable families with sons in the fighting forces said they were offended and angered by the implied Democratic slogan, "You never had it so good." The universality of the Eisenhower victory indicated that benefits such as farm parity and social security, which the Democrats emphasized, had no effect on the voting.

Rural counties that had gone decisively for Truman in 1948 flopped to Eisenhower by margins as lop-sided as three to one. Yet the agricultural policies that helped Truman had not been changed. Deeper, more basic questions, had taken over in people's minds.

A few beacons glimmered through the darkness. In Washington state, Rep. Henry M. Jackson spared the US Senate the further embarrassment of the presence of Harry P. Cain. Another liberal member of the House, Mike Mansfield of Montana, eliminated the more quiet but equally reactionary Zales N. Ecton. In Idaho a Democratic woman of remarkable vigor and ability, Gracie Pfost, is running narrowly ahead of Rep. John T. Wood, 74, who believes that "United Nations" is a horrid phrase.

But, in general, the Republican avalanche swept all before it. Only two Democrats were elected to the Oregon State Senate. Lt.-Gov. Vic Meyers of Washington lost his job after two decades in office. Rep. Hugh Mitchell failed to unseat Washington's Republican Governor, Arthur B. Langlie, who won a third term of four years while stumping the state for a national ticket which had as its slogan, "It's time for a change."

So far as the Pacific Coast is concerned, the election showed that party registration means little to the average American. The 850,000 Democratic margin in party affiliation in California melted into a Republican victory which was evident shortly after the polls closed. Even in the Democratic citadel of Seattle, a city that was regarded as snug and secure as any area could be in an election, the Congressional seat went to a Republican Chamber of Commerce bigwig named Tom Pelly.

The preoccupation with international policy was indicated by the fact that the voters never applied locally the time-for-a-change theme. Top-heavy Republican majorities in the California and Oregon legislatures were made even more preponderant. Hoary GOP Congressmen like Oregon's Homer Angell, 77 years old, got commissions for their eighth or tenth terms in office. Republican control of county courthouses was solidified. The turn-the-rascals-out mood seemed to apply only to Washington, D. C.

Yet it was speedily demonstrated that much is expected of the new President. Newspapers in large coastal cities received many complaints over the telephone when Ike appeared on front pages playing golf in Georgia. Irate women wanted to know why he wasn't in Korea ending the war as pledged. Few reporters doubt that this was an election decided almost wholly by the Korean War and attendant issues related to foreign policy.

Richard L. Neuberger, who represents the 13th District in the Oregon Senate, was one of only two Democratic Senators elected in all of that state on November 4. His wife, Maurine, was re-elected to represent Portland in the Oregon House.

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NOW THAT WE'RE OUT

by Hubert Humphrey

I AM WRITING this article on November 5. The election returns are showing an overwhelming Eisenhower victory. It seems clear that the House of Representatives will be controlled by the Republican Party, and I cannot help but confess I am hoping that the Senate will be controlled also by the Republican Party. If the American people prefer to have four years of Republican rule, both the legislative and the executive branches of government ought to be controlled by the Republican Party; the Republican Party ought to have the power as well as the responsibility to carry out its program. Only then will the American people be able to judge that program.

My spirits, of course, are low; the results are a great disappointment to me. I believe that Governor Stevenson would have made—and may still some day make—one of the greatest Presidents of our history. His campaign was a model for democratic politics. It was honest, honorable and frank. I am proud that he was our candidate and feel privileged that I had an opportunity to campaign for him through 18 states.

We have a responsibility, however, not to live our disappointments. The people have spoken, and as a believer in majority rule democracy, I am prepared to accept the decision and trust to the wisdom of the electorate. One of the most refreshing aspects of the election was the tremendous turnout of voters. This was heartening, and I hope will be the new pattern for American politics.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, as President of the United States, will be my President. As an American citizen and as a United States Senator, it is my intention to comport myself in such a manner as to pay respect to the high office of President of the United States. I resent bitterly the campaign attacks which an irresponsible group in the Republican Party constantly levelled against Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and I shall myself not engage in such irresponsible and unpatriotic partisanship.

The telephones have been ringing in my office all day. Most of the people calling have been saying: "Senator, I am calling to offer my help for your campaign in 1954. We have a big job to do, and we ought to start early." These calls have come, in many instances, from people I have not met. I am deeply appreciative of them.

Other telephone calls and visits have come from leaders of our own Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor Party who point to the fact that within our state the Democratic Party did not fare too badly. We kept our four outstanding DFL Congressmen and lost no seats in the House. We gained one state office, that of Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner, and our candidates for Governor and Senator—Orville Freeman and Bill Carlson—made splendid showings. Our Party in the state has nothing of which to feel ashamed.

The Senate will be a strange place in January. My very dear friend, Senator Benton, was defeated. He and I became close associates, and our families took to each other. I have an unbounded respect, admiration and affection for Bill Benton. I shall miss him.

I shall also miss Senator O'Mahoney. It is difficult to understand a vote which results in the defeat of a public servant with his long and splendid record. One of the outstanding liberal economists in the Senate, the loss of Joe O'Mahoney is a serious one to liberals.

Blair Moody was one of the ablest of the new Senators, and his loss will be felt. He brought to the Senate an energetic exuberance and seriousness of purpose which was stimulating.

But Stuart Symington will join us, and so will "Scoop" Jackson—and Mike Mansfield.

What will the Senate be like in 1953 and 1954?

We shall have with us Herbert Lehman, Wayne Morse, John Sparkman, John Pastore, Warren Magnuson, Paul Douglas, Estes Kefauver, Lister Hill and other liberal "veterans." I am inclined to feel that we must organize a liberal caucus as quickly as possible. Party lines may be blurred in the next Congress. It is difficult to believe —despite his campaign statements—that Eisenhower will be willing to "sell out" the foreign policy which he helped to formulate during his years as a responsible Army leader. Yet, to carry out that policy, it will be impossible for him to depend on a great many of the Senators he brought with him back to Washington. Should it be that Eisenhower does intend to promote the foreign policy he helped fashion, I believe very earnestly that those of us on the liberal side of the aisle who believe in that foreign policy should do what we can to help the new President at a time when our nation is facing a severe international crisis— and I believe the crisis will continue. We must place the interests of our nation above that of our party.

This brings another thought to mind. I have a strong hunch that General Eisenhower will live to regret his

Hubert Humphrey, Democrat, is US Senator from Minnesota.

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decision to press for the re-election of any and all Republicans regardless of their views and records. This business of party regularity is a strange thing. The General's reason for acting as he did was that they are all Republicans. This short-sighted expediency repelled me when it was first announced, and I think will return to plague the General.

I have always believed in party government and party responsibility, but I have never believed that the interests of a political party were superior to those of the interests of our nation. In 1950, I spoke for Wayne Morse in Oregon even though his opponent was a Democrat. In 1952, I led a move within our own state of Minnesota DFL Party to repudiate one of our candidates for Congress because I believed his foreign policy was too close to that of the Soviet Union and would tend to aid the Communist cause were he elected.

It is my sincere hope that General Eisenhower will pursue an internationalist responsible foreign policy which will seek to bring peace with honor, but which will also stand forthrightly against Communist aggression. I shall support such a policy. But there is concern in my mind that Eisenhower's foreign policy may not be entirely adequate. I fear that he and his advisers underestimate the importance of an Asiatic program which will emphasize the "self-help" principles of our Point IV program. My chief criticism of the Administration's foreign policy was that its Point IV program was inadequate. With the Republican record vividly in mind, I am afraid that Point IV will face a more serious threat under the Republican Administration. It seems to me that our "Liberal caucus" in the Senate will have much work to do in the field of foreign affairs.

Frankly, I am at a loss to know just what will happen to our domestic economy under a Republican Administration. I fear the worst. Republican leadership in Congress has never shown the understanding required to put our economy on a firm foundation. We have had to argue, for example, the desirability of full employment not just the methods of achieving it. There has been a total lack of awareness that labor legislation must emphasize collective bargaining and be free from a punitive philosophy. Special interests, whether they be against public power or against minimum wages and effective inflation controls, have given every indication since I have been in the Senate, of owning the Republican Party. The future for our domestic economy, therefore, appears uncertain and bleak.

One of my Republican friends told me today on the telephone that General Eisenhower will provide liberal leadership to the Republican Party on domestic affairs. Yet, whatever evidence we have of his domestic attitudes show him to be moving in the direction of the Taft program. If this analysis is correct and unless there is a sudden reversal in form, this may well be the Achilles heel of the Republican Administration. The victory of yesterday was a great personal victory for Dwight Eisenhower. It was not an overwhelming victory for the Republican Party. The result in the Senate and the House shows that. A Republican Administration, therefore, which would allow the growth of inflation, ignore the health and housing needs of our people and threaten the security of the American farmer and small businessman and working man, cannot long continue to receive electoral support.

The challenge to the Republican Party, therefore, is clear. If it can meet the needs of the people, it will perhaps stay in power for many years. If it fails to do so, or ignores the needs of the people, the next four years may well be an hiatus in the midst of a much longer period of Democratic government.

The task of the Democratic Party also is clear. It must further identify itself with the liberal tradition in American politics; it must hold firm to the principles and program of the New Deal and the Fair Deal; it must prepare itself to meet the new problems which our government will face so that we can move forward along the social and economic frontiers of our nation. It must act responsibly in the years to come to support the Republican Administration where it merits support and to constructively oppose its policies when they violate the principles which the Democratic Party holds.

This may call for the formation of a liberal caucus within the Democratic minority in the Congress. It is too early for me to say, since I have not yet analyzed completely the election returns nor counted our liberal strength. I believe, in view of the strong conservative Democratic representation in the Congress, the Democratic liberals may not have a minority on the Democratic side of the aisle.

The task of our party is clear, however. Our task is to remain firm in our convictions, resolute in our determination, and clear in our understanding that in the not too distant future we will be called upon again to assume the responsibilities of national leadership. Governor Stevenson established a pattern in his campaign. We must follow that pattern of integrity in what we say, common-sense in the way we say it, and courage in our conviction. Unless we tell the truth and state the facts as we see them, we betray our liberal traditions and associate ourselves with the false bill of goods that some have tried to sell to the American people.

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MAN—NOT PRINCIPLES

by Estes Kefauver

THE ELECTION of November 4 was a mandate for a man—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who caught the imagination of the people and was swept into office with a great vote.

Adlai Stevenson carried on a brilliant campaign, setting forth the Democratic side with clarity. He did not win, but served the nation well by fully discussing the issues on a high plane.

I am not so sure that the election was a mandate for the so-called "principles of Republicanism," if one means by that the reactionary philosophies at home and abroad which are usually ascribed to that party.

For, while the voters were giving General Eisenhower a great majority and were giving the Republican Party control of the Senate and House, they were turning out some of the better examples of Republican reaction.

Out in the state of Washington, for instance, they turned out of office one of the so-called "Class of 1946"—one of those Senators who was elected during the Republican sweep which led to the 80th Congress. In Washington state, they replaced Sen. Harry Cain, who has opposed nearly all social legislation and is one of those who has the peculiar philosophy of either extending the war in the Far East or calling it off altogether, with young Rep. Henry Jackson. "Scoop" Jackson has been an enlightened member of the House, supporting the great principles which the Democratic Party has sponsored.

In Montana, there was a similar situation. Another member of the "Class of '46," Sen. Zales Ecton, was replaced by Rep. Mike Mansfield. Ecton's actions were very similar to those of Cain; Mansfield's were similar to those of Jackson.

In New Mexico, the voters declined again to send Gen. Pat Hurley, former Ambassador to China, outspoken critic of the State Department and follower of the MacArthur line, to the Senate. They chose Sen. Dennis Chavez instead.

I mention these things because I suspect that you will hear many generalizations concerning the outcome of the election during the next few weeks and months. Generalizations are always dangerous, and seldom completely true.

Without doubt, I feel that the voters showed they liked Ike. They wanted new faces in high places in Washington. The "time for a change" theme took hold. The "mess in Washington" theme was potent.

Estes Kefauver, Democrat, is US Senator from Tennessee.

As one Democratic member of Congress who had something to do with exposing the so-called "mess in Washington," along with such colleagues as Sens. William Fulbright, Paul Douglas, Clyde Hoey and Representatives King and Chelf, I feel that we Democrats in Congress at least have done a good job on this score.

Much remains to be done. And we are ready to join forces with General Eisenhower to finish the job.

As a Democrat and a Southerner, I am not distressed at the inroads made in the South by the Republican Party. I believe in the two-party system for the South, just as I do for the nation. I have wished that the Republicans would campaign more actively in the South. I proposed a change in electoral laws, later known as the Lodge-Gossett-Kefauver amendment, which I thought might have this result. It would have divided the electoral vote proportionately to the popular vote, thereby giving the Democrats an incentive to campaign in Maine and Vermont. Perhaps General Eisenhower has accomplished what this amendment sought to do. He should have shown his Republican colleagues, for all time, that it is worthwhile to campaign in the South. This will have a concomitant beneficial effect upon the Democratic Party, which has been shown that it cannot take the South for granted. The "Solid South" myth is past.

In the field of foreign affairs, the facts of the world situation have not changed as a result of the balloting.

I feel certain that General Eisenhower will seek to maintain our position of leadership in the interests of peace and stability. In this he will have full Democratic backing.

In Korea, if he is unable to get an honorable settlement without extending the war or abandoning our principles, I would urge that he submit the whole question to the United Nations General Assembly.

In the field of domestic affairs, I look for some changes. It would take much space and considerable guesswork to outline all the domestic changes. One thing seems certain—the off-shore oil lands will be returned to the states and we have little chance to get any part of this revenue for the benefit of the school children of the nation. From other past performances of the Republican Party, we can expect tax reductions in such things as inheritance allowances, depletion allowances, and excess profits. We probably will see no great changes in the Taft-Hartley law.

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What will be the role of the Democratic Party in all this?

The minority party can play a vital, constructive role in the nation. For my part, I shall try to make my actions conform to that ideal.

I shall seek to be a constructive critic, but never a destructive critic. I shall join with General Eisenhower in attempting to put more vigor into the administration, both in its foreign and domestic fields; in attempting to eliminate waste in government; in attempting to clean up any remaining corruption; in urging nationwide preferential primaries.

These are things that both General Eisenhower and I campaigned for, and it is my desire to be helpful to him. Certainly in the field of foreign affairs we want to make this a bipartisan administration if we are given the opportunity to do so.

I shall not hesitate to object when I do not agree, just as I did not hesitate to object when my own party occupied the White House.

The key to proper conduct under these circumstances was given by a great Republican, Abraham Lincoln, when he stated that he would stay with a man as long as he was right, but would part with him when he was wrong.

That will be my philosophy.

WAIT UNTIL THE VOTERS FIND OUT

by Wayne Morse

ONLY TIME will tell what happened to our country on November 4, 1952. Nevertheless, if the people recognize soon enough the dangerous implications of the election, they can prevent a fruition of the aims and objectives of the reactionary forces that propagandized enough voters to such a degree that Eisenhower and Nixon were able to win the election. What the reactionaries are overlooking is that when the rank and file of our people come to realize that Eisenhower and Nixon and their managers stooped to political expediency throughout the campaign, the political honeymoon of the reactionary forces will be over, and the domestic scene will be set for an early political divorce. A program of reaction cannot long endure in our country with world events moving as rapidly as they are.

The American people will not stay frightened very long by the scare-crow tales which Eisenhower and Nixon and their reactionary cohorts spread throughout the campaign. Basically the American people have faith in a political philosophy which places human values above the economic selfishness of the individual. There is little doubt about the fact that Eisenhower's loose talk about lower taxes, drastic cuts in the budget and more money in the pockets of the individual taxpayer, appealed to the voters in the excitement of the campaign. But when the mental process of reflection permeates public opinion, Eisenhower will discover that he threw a political boomerang. The voters are bound to come to realize that they cannot have adequate national security at home and abroad and not have to pay for it. They are going to recognize that they cannot enjoy the highest standard of living in the world, backed by government protection of their bank deposits, of their social security in old age, of unemployment benefits and of the large number of other government protections to their welfare, without paying a fair share of an insurance premium in the form of taxes to maintain such government services.

The propaganda of Eisenhower, Nixon, Taft and their reactionary cohorts during the campaign that the various government services protecting the economic welfare of our people constitute creeping Socialism will come to be resented by the American people. They will resent it once they discover that the Eisenhower forces are devotees of an outmoded, unrealistic, laissez-faire economy. It is an economic philosophy which really does not mean that the government should maintain a hands-off policy toward business, but really means that the selfish hands of business should run the government.

The endorsement by Eisenhower of Taft's fallacious argument that the American taxpayers have lost from one-fourth to one-third of their liberties because the average person is paying from one-fourth to one-third of his income in taxes of all kinds, was an insult to the intelligence of the American people. He and Taft may think such false reasoning helped them win votes, but in the long run it will cost them the confidence of millions of our citizens in their political reliability, once the process of reflection and careful appraisal of such a representation takes place among our citizenry. The average citizen resents being fooled. He will come to see that he does not lose any liberty, but rather guarantees its protection, when he and the rest of the taxpayers pay many millions of dollars a year to support the American court system, police services and all the other branches of the administration of justice. He knows that he is not losing any liberty when he and

Wayne Morse, Independent Republican, is US Senator from Oregon.

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other taxpayers pay millions of dollars a year for roads, fire protection, agricultural research, schools, health programs, conservation of natural resources and the myriad of other government services which make the American citizen the master, and not the servant, of his government.

The American voters will come to see the difference between their continuing as masters of their government and their becoming the servants of reactionary economic forces who, through Eisenhower, were the real victors in the election. They know in their hearts and minds that it is not creeping Socialism to guarantee a minimum wage and thereby protect the workers of the country from exploitation by those selfish employers who still think that human labor is a commodity, to be bought and sold upon an economic auction block, in accordance with the law of supply and demand. The American people will not be fooled for long by the demagogic argument that it is creeping Socialism for them, through their government, to maintain the social-security program, or to provide federal aid for hospitals, medical schools, nurses' training, and public health programs. The American people know that the greatest wealth our country possesses is its people and their health and happiness.

Likewise, they know that it takes billion of dollars to maintain our defenses against the dangerous threat of world Communism, and that within the 25 to 30 percent of the income of the average citizen which goes to taxes at least three-fourths of it goes to pay for the cost of defense.

The fallacious arguments by Eisenhower, Nixon and Taft and the rest of the reactionaries during the campaign on domestic economic policies, and their false claim that creeping Socialism is taking over our government, constitute a cruel disservice to the welfare of our people, and sooner or later the American people are going to see through the fallaciousness of General Eisenhower's appeal for their votes by way of this argument of fear.

Although reaction won the election, it will not survive because the people will sooner or later reject it. What will happen then? When the people reject the philosophy of economic selfishness and increased privilege for the privileged few which characterizes the basic meaning of Eisenhower's domestic program they will thereby reject the Republican Party. Will the Democratic Party be in a position at that time to serve the people's best interests? It may be. But if it is to be, it must take advantage of its period of defeat to reclaim for itself the liberalism of Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Adlai Stevenson.

Party labels are not going to stop the movement toward political realignment which is taking place in our country. The parties themselves are not going to be able to stop the realignment of political forces in our country, because the political thinking behind that realignment is bigger than the parties. Unless the two major parties adjust themselves quickly to that realignment, it will pass them by.

What is the nature of that realignment? It consists of many millions of voters who have come to recognize that existing party organizations are not placing principle above politics, and are not keeping faith with the mandate that political parties should exist to serve the people, rather than have the people serve the parties. The professional politicians have missed the fact that a new political alignment is shaping up in America because they have overlooked the fact that the number of Democrats and Republicans in our country is a figure much smaller than the number of registered Democrats and registered Republicans.

The average man and woman in the United States is first of all Mr. and Mrs. Independent Voter, irrespective of the party label they wear. These independent voters may be misled by political propaganda now and then, as many of them were in this last election, but they are not going to trade their political rights and independence for a ring of political partisan baloney. They are still willing to line up with each of the major political parties, provided sound and sane liberalism devoted to serving human values characterizes the programs and policies of those parties.

However, today they know that the Republican Party has been taken over by the reactionaries and that reaction is riding high in the Republican Party on the horses of fear, frustration, fatigue and fatuousness. The independent voters of America know that reactionary forces within the Democratic Party at least have shackled liberal forces within that party.

At the moment, independent voters in and out of both parties are waiting and watching and hoping that the leaders of one or both of the parties will repudiate reaction for all time.

For the moment, it appears to be a hopeless hope as far as the Republican Party is concerned. The situation offers the Democratic Party a challenging opportunity.

If both parties sacrifice the independent voter there will be a growing demand for the formation of an independent party offering independent candidates for the judgment of the voters.

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THE CRUCIAL STATES: WHAT HAPPENED

THE MAGNITUDE *of General Eisenhower's victory has apparently surprised everyone but the Republican National Committee, and there is reason to believe that these gentlemen, too, were surprised. In the voting, Eisenhower ran far ahead of his party, a tribute to his personal popularity. But elements other than personal popularity contributed to his large majority: Time for a change, Korea, Inflation, High Taxes, these and other issues, as well as campaign funds or lack of funds, newspaper support or lack of support, good and bad organization of a local level, all played a role.*

It is, of course, impossible to unravel this complex of causes so as to give to each its appropriate place and importance in the final result. Yet a desire to do so will persist, and we will be treated to innumerable post-mortems. Attempting, then, to clarify, more than to explain, the forces which were at work in key states throughout the nation, the NR *has assembled the reports which follow.*

McCARTHY RIDES THE COATTAILS

ONE OF THE ironically significant aspects of the Wisconsin election is that the man the state Republican Party tried to purge in the primary because of his opposition to McCarthy, Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman, ran ahead of the Republican ticket, while McCarthy ran far behind it.

There is a lesson in this for those who cower and drop to their knees before the strutting bully boys. It is now obvious that Gov. Walter Kohler missed the great opportunity of his lifetime to become a political leader of national stature. The returns show he could have unseated McCarthy, who ran more than 100,000 votes behind the popular but timid Governor.

Kohler has many times privately expressed revulsion against McCarthy and his tactics. A year ago he was flirting with the notion of running against him. Had he stood up at that time to make the fight which his sense of decency told him to make, he could have stopped the forces that allowed McCarthy's bluff to carry. He could have prevented Senator Taft's all-out endorsement of McCarthy. He could have split the Republican Party. He could have gone to the US Senate, acclaimed nationally as conqueror of the Wisconsin demagogue. But he collapsed before the pressure of a few bosses and noisy McCarthy followers, and sank, during the campaign, to the status of a captive of the McCarthy wing of the party.

McCarthy was re-elected because of the moral cowardice of Republican leadership. Kohler surrendered and was instrumental in persuading General Eisenhower to do the same. It is now clear, contrary to the loud claims of the McCarthyites that Eisenhower would have to ride the Senator's coattails, that McCarthy rode the General's. Eisenhower's margin over McCarthy in Wisconsin was in excess of 100,000.

Eisenhower carried McCarthy to victory, as he did Jenner. It was this deadly compromise with principle, coupled with the general misinterpretation of the Wisconsin primary vote, which caused the defeat of Thomas E. Fairchild, McCarthy's Democratic opponent. The misinterpretation of the primary vote cost Fairchild dearly in the financial support he needed to carry his campaign to the rural areas of Wisconsin, which were responsible for McCarthy's margin.

The state's biggest industrial areas voted for Fairchild. His margin in Milwaukee County was close to 100,000. He carried Racine, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Eau Claire and Douglas counties, all strong labor counties. And he carried Dane County, where Madison is located, by almost two to one. His biggest margins came in the two counties, Milwaukee and Dane, where the Milwaukee *Journal* and the *Capital Times* have been giving the facts about McCarthy to the people.

There is no reason to believe that the national Republican victory will cause McCarthy to restrain his rampage. His Communist campaign has given him the softest touch he has ever had in his life-long, frantic quest for the quick buck. That he does not intend to give it up was disclosed in a public statement he made in Milwaukee at the time Eisenhower was there to give him his blessing. He announced that he would "call 'em as I see 'em, regardless of who is President." It is not inconceivable that he will turn on Eisenhower with all his fury. After all, he has already implicated the General in the traitorous conspiracy he charges against General Marshall.

Those who have followed his strange public career longest and know him best are confident that there is nothing in the Republican victory that will dissuade him from his own "crusade." He may be somewhat chastened for awhile by the poor showing he made in the election, but he still dreams his dreams of McCarthy in the White House.

The fight against McCarthyism in all of its evil mani-

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festations must be a number-one job of the progressive forces of the nation. To falter now in the complacent belief that McCarthy will quiet down is to play into the hands of those who seek the destruction of freedom. Eisenhower has already compromised himself on the issue, probably beyond the point of return.

There will be no help from the victorious Republicans, for they flew the banner of McCarthyism to win victory. The fight must be waged by the progressive forces of the nation. It promises to be a glorious fight, not only because we can now abandon our defensive posture, but because of the nobleness of our purpose.

WILLIAM T. EVJUE, Editor,
Madison *Capital Times*

NEW YORK: DEFEAT BY DEFAULT

AS THE NATION WENT, so went New York—only more so. The trend away from the Democratic Party has been steady since 1936. In that year FDR defeated Landon by a cool million, but four and eight years later, FDR only eked out a quarter million margin, and in 1948, Truman lost the state to Dewey. Eisenhower carried the state by some 800,000 votes.

The Eisenhower sweep is all the more remarkable because the American Labor Party, whose 509,000 votes went to Wallace in 1948, gave no such back-handed assistance to Ike in the final tally this year. The ALP vote ran to only 65,000 in the state.

The contest was not the usual see-saw between New York City and upstate New York: Eisenhower's strength in both areas increased. In New York City, where the Democratic candidate for President can normally count on a lead of some 600,000 to 700,000, Stevenson led by only 375,000. The GOP candidate won upstate by more than a million. Buffalo, one of the state's largest cities, after 24 years in the Democratic column moved to the Republican side. Also, Rome, Hornell and Auburn, among other cities which supported Truman in 1948, went GOP this year. In short, all New York moved to Ike.

In a year when the whole trend seems to be away from the liberals, the great upset in New York was the rise in Liberal Party votes. In 1948, some 220,000 votes were cast on the Liberal Party line for Truman; this year the Liberal Party vote was 400,000 for Stevenson.

The large Liberal Party vote, as well as the large Eisenhower vote, was aided by the complications of the Senatorial contest in New York. Incumbent Sen. Irving Ives was an easy winner with a majority running well over a million. Liberal Party candidate, Dr. George S. Counts, polled more than 460,000 votes in the state, the high point of Liberal Party strength for a state-wide candidate. In upstate New York, Counts ran even with Stevenson on Row C; but in New York City, Counts ran some 60,000 votes ahead of Stevenson, presumably because there were this number of Democrats who preferred Liberal Counts to the Democrat Cashmore. Corliss Lamont, American Labor Party candidate for the US Senate, polled some 100,000 votes—a good 35,000 over the Presidential candidate of the ALP. Presumably, the additional 35,000 votes for Lamont came from Stevenson voters who preferred Lamont for the Senate. From the Senatorial results, it is now clear that the machine-minded candidacy of John Cashmore was one of the real drags on the Stevenson candidacy in New York, while Counts' candidacy was of real assistance to Stevenson. By their own strength, the Democrats were barely able to hold New York City with a plurality of some 27,000 out of some 3,250,000 votes cast.

The Eisenhower victory in New York represents no rightward turn in the political thinking of New Yorkers. Both the Ike and Ives campaigns in New York were filled with liberal proposals and clichés. The Stevenson campaign produced a corps of liberal-minded and articulate activists such as this state has never known. The Counts' vote is a high mark in organized liberal opinion.

To many, the New York vote is a continuation of the force that has been raising havoc with the Democratic Party candidates for the last three years: corruption and the machine. In 1950, the angry voter put Impelliterri in City Hall over all organized parties; in 1951, the same mood put Halley in City Hall on the Liberal and Independent tickets; in 1952, Ike was the beneficiary of much of this feeling. And where voters had a chance to vote liberal and still protest against the machine, they did so in the voting for Counts.

GUS TYLER

ILLINOIS: RESURGENT GOP

PROBABLY the hardest blow Governor Stevenson had to absorb was the loss of his home state, Illinois, after he had transformed its administration from one of the worst to one of the very best in the nation.

Reasons for his defeat are complex, but probably chief among them is that, like many other areas, Illinois has been the scene of a Republican resurgence for some six years now. There, as elsewhere, the lower middle-income group has grown enormously since the depression days, and those whom it has amalgamated have become more conservative. The 1948 election would probably have reflected this movement had it not been for the particular character of the gubernatorial race in that year. Corruption was the issue—the corruption of the Republican Green administration. Disgust was so profound and widespread in 1948 that the voters gave

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Adlai Stevenson the largest gubernatorial majority in the history of the state, a majority large enough to spill over and give President Truman the 33,000 votes by which he carried the state.

Yet it is now apparent that beneath that particular and momentary protest, the swell of Republican sentiment remained constant. It asserted itself in 1950 to send the ultra-conservative Republican Everett Dirksen to the Senate, and it climaxed in the majority given to General Eisenhower this year.

Besides this major consideration, several peripheral elements aided Republican sentiment to assert itself and to carry the state this year. The so-called "wheel-chair" vote for example: As in Ohio in 1950, those living on annuities and pensions voted in the way they thought would best protect their income from further inflation cuts.

More important, however, was the disintegration of the Democratic state organization, particularly in Cook County—the once hard precinct-to-precinct organization broke down in key areas.

If property holdings are any indication, the Democratic leaders in Cook County have grown very rich; they have certainly grown lazy, and, in some instances, corrupt. They did not throw down Stevenson, but they lacked the drive and the dedication which alone can organize and deliver the vote.

It was no advantage to the Democrats when a few weeks before the election it was announced the 44th Division of the Illinois State Guard—a downstate division called to training 5 or 6 months ago—was to be sent overseas.

Also important was the relative weakness of the Democratic state ticket. Lieutenant Governor Sherwood Dixon, a hard-working and deserving man, is a colorless, unimposing campaigner. Although chosen by Stevenson to continue the work he had begun in Illinois, to many voters he represented little more than a token choice. Even so he pulled more votes than did Stevenson. A stronger candidate might have won, for obviously many Illinois voters still distrust the local breed of Republican. And a stronger candidate might have held the state for Stevenson, but that is a matter of pure conjecture. TOM FITZSIMMONS

WARREN IS A QUESTION MARK

CALIFORNIA'S first quadrennial switch from the Democratic to the Republican column in 24 years left citizens on both sides of the political fence hazarding answers to a most puzzling question:

What is going to happen to Gov. Earl Warren, the GOP liberal who went along in supporting Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower despite strong personal antipathy toward Ike's running-mate, Vice-President-elect Richard M. Nixon?

The most obvious move would be for Warren to resign as Governor and allow his successor, conservative Republican Lt.-Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, to appoint him to the US Senate post necessarily vacated by Nixon. That would give Warren a crack at national politics and at the same time mightily please Knight, a vigorous Ike-man who has long had gubernatorial ambitions.

Warren, however, apparently has other ideas. He has his eye on a cabinet post as Ike's Attorney-General and its implied promise of elevation to the US Supreme Court bench at the first opportunity. Ike is reportedly sympathetic to this plan and will act on it if other commitments to the Deweyites and Taftmen don't interfere.

That would still leave the Nixon spot in the Senate to be filled by Warren appointment. Top contenders would be Laughlin E. Waters, State GOP chairman and member of the California Assembly; Attorney Bernard Brennan, former Los Angeles County GOP Chairman and manager of recent campaigns for both Nixon and Warren; and Attorney McIntyre Faries, Republican National Committeeman and a leader of the Pasadena-San Marino crowd of conservatives. The 35-year-old Waters is considered the best bet.

But if the Attorney-General offering is fouled up, Warren might go for the Senate deal, although with a bad taste in his mouth. It is more likely that he would sit tight as Governor and appoint his own choice (whoever that may be) to the Senatorial seat without consultation with party leaders.

Oddly enough, those most interested in the goings-on are GOP brass and labor leaders for obviously different reasons. Union executives would like to see Warren in Ike's cabinet because the California Governor has followed a policy of getting along with labor while being neither pro nor anti. They believe if Warren, Thomas E. Dewey and Harold Stassen draw advisory positions, the General may restrain GOP extremists from passing laws that might lead to all-out civil war between workers and government. They would be far less interested in seeing Warren in the Senate.

Concern over Warren's status is about the only problem the Republicans in California have remaining. The broad sweep increased the GOP's normal majorities in the State Senate by one seat to the 29 to 11 level and in the State Assembly by three seats to a 50 to 20 count.

Simultaneously, with incumbent Sen. William H. Knowland re-elected under the cross-filing system, the GOP will retain both US Senate seats and assume 19 of the 30 Congressional jobs. This means that Cali-

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fornia is safely Republican for at least two years and, if off-year election statistics are any guide, for probably the four years until the Presidential race is on again.

The Democrats, strangely, are beginning to see bright spots in the seemingly black Republican landslide. Many party leaders are actually relieved to get out of the target area for the sniping GOP press. Many feel that the Demos, so badly split both before and during the campaign, may have needed a defeat to bring back unity. Many think it will be edifying to see how the loudly critical opposition reacts to criticism fired at the administration's best efforts. And many are betting that four years of McCarthyism, Nixonism, and conservatism may cause both Ike and the voters to rebel.

They are already beginning to think of "next time" and the tactics to be used. The biggest headache is still cross-filing, which was on the ballot for repeal but fell short of the necessary majority votes. Instead, the electorate approved a substitute measure which will require candidates at primary elections to list their party of affiliation on the ballot even though they are running for nomination by another party. This may help to clarify some of the confusion, but it will still be possible for candidates of either party to run for and win the nomination of the other. MARK BLACKBURN

MASSACHUSETTS—STILL DEMOCRATIC

ADLAI STEVENSON lost Massachusetts by 200,000 votes, while Gov. Paul Dever was defeated by 18,000 votes and Henry Cabot Lodge lost to John F. Kennedy by a margin of 68,000. The immediate problem for liberals is to assess the importance of McCarthyism in this heavily Catholic area.

To this writer, the heartening news is that McCarthyism was apparently not a very important factor. To be sure, the issue had some effect; the ultra-reactionary Boston *Post*, along with the Hearst tabloids, played it up. And two instances of Catholic priests telling their parishes that "Stevenson is a Communist" were reported to me; but these phenomena seem to be isolated cases. Both the voting patterns of the state and the immediate reactions of labor and Democratic leaders suggest instead that Massachusetts Democrats—particularly women and new voters—were affected by Ike's personality, by the Korean issue and by the general dissatisfaction on the issue of corruption, combined with a belief that Eisenhower at the least could do "no worse."

In Boston, as in other Bay State cities, Stevenson received almost as many votes as Truman had in 1948. This was particularly true in the low-income wards of intown Boston—East Boston, the North End, most of Roxbury. Stevenson also did well, as predicted, among Jewish and Negro voters. It was not the poorer and less-educated Irish voters who turned to Eisenhower, but rather the high-income groups of the "Venetian blind" areas—outer Dorchester, West Roxbury, Brighton. In these same wards Ike picked up thousands of votes more than Dewey had received in 1948.

The same areas which voted for Ike also turned out Governor Dever and voted against Lt. Gov. Charles Sullivan and Attorney-General Francis Kelly; these three men were accused by the Republicans of corruption and waste in their administrations. Dever and Sullivan were defeated by Republicans easily identifiable with the "blue-blood Yankee" stereotype, while Kelly was overwhelmingly routed by George Fingold, the first Jewish candidate ever elected in Massachusetts, who ran 100,000 votes ahead of Eisenhower in the state and performed the even more startling feat of almost carrying Catholic Boston against the powerful Kelly. The anti-corruption Republicans all did best in the upper-income wards while losing in the low-income areas, which further substantiates the theory that not anti-Communism but the GOP change theme was most important.

The highly astute, arch-Republican columnist Bill Mullins of the Boston *Herald* has argued from these figures that Massachusetts is still basically a Democratic state. Those Democrats who could not be accused of "corruption"—John Kennedy, State Treasurer Foster Furcolo and the Democratic State Secretary and Auditor —won by comfortable margins. The Massachusetts debacle may thus be explained better as the resentment of new voters against a vaguely comprehended "mess"—especially war, inflation, and corruption—rather than a religious reaction against Communism.

The two Democrats to watch will be John F. Kennedy and State Treasurer Furcolo. Kennedy, as "the man who beat Lodge" with his charismatic personality, will almost certainly become a national figure immediately, and the McCarthy issue may make him a strong contender for Vice-president by 1956. He has already announced that he favors Ike's mission to Korea, and further believes that Chinese Nationalist and probably Japanese troops should be used in Korea, to replace Americans. He has also announced that he will continue to fight for Fair Deal domestic legislation; this synthesis of an aggressive foreign policy with domestic liberalism may well make him an outstanding if ambiguous figure in the years ahead. Young Foster Furcolo, for six years the most sincere and able New Deal Congressman from Massachusetts, may now emerge as a major liberal figure by 1954, and a likely contender for Senator or Governor. A Yale law graduate, he is the first Italian-American ever elected to state office here. JOHN P. MALLAN

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THE ONE-PARTY PRESS PAYS OFF

by Jean Begeman

NEARLY a half-century ago the founder of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Joseph Pulitzer, said "our republic and its press will rise or fall together." The full impact of his warning was never felt more strongly than it is today. With the exception of Pulitzer's own paper and a handful of other newspapers the free press in this democracy gave its readers a dangerously one-sided view of the 1952 Presidential campaign.

Both Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman won elections despite a hostile press. But they were already familiar figures to the voters at election time, and their opponents were not national heroes. Had it not been for radio and television, Adlai Stevenson would have remained in the minds of most of the public as General Eisenhower's ghost-opponent—without form or personality. He would have remained a somewhat confusing composite—a candidate hand-picked by big-city bosses, dominated by pinks and Communists, a vague and indecisive visionary—for this is the picture of him that the Republicans presented. And the majority of the press made little attempt to bring that picture into focus.

As far back as the Republican convention, the newspapers had begun to show determination to slant the news. When the General, fresh from the Paris headquarters of NATO, told a group of Midwest isolationists on July 8 that the French had become "50 percent agnostic or atheistic," the press successfully protected him by keeping the story out of view. The New York *Times* did not use the statement until July 11 and then put it on page 10. Eisenhower's later contradictory positions on off-shore oil, social security, budget cuts and other issues were seldom the subject of editorials. The newspapers gleefully turned out reams of editorials on President Truman's attacks of the General, calling them "lies" and "gutter" politics, but at the same time, Richard Nixon and Joe McCarthy were able to sound off on any subject and remain unchallenged by most papers.

General Eisenhower's candidacy was supported editorially by 993 of the nation's daily newspapers with a total circulation of 40.1 million. Governor Stevenson was supported by 201 newspapers with a total circulation of 4.4 million. (Of the 1,385 dailies polled by *Editor & Publisher*, 251 were independent or undecided one week before the election.) The poll revealed that General Eisenhower had editorial support in every state, but Governor Stevenson was without the backing of a single newspaper in eight states—Delaware, Maine, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont. How, then, were the people—the millions of readers of pro-Eisenhower newspapers—able to get the facts necessary to vote sensibly on November 4?

Early in the campaign, Governor Stevenson, speaking at a luncheon of editors and publishers in Portland, Ore., derided the one-party press in this two-party country. The editors expressed shock at this accusation and then, during the months of September and October, proved his point for him. This survey, as well as others presented in recent weeks, bears out the contention that most of the newspapers editorialized in headlines and gave the Republicans splashy news coverage while playing down the favorable news about Democratic. Roscoe Drummond, Washington editor

Newspaper	*Political Affiliation**	*Daily Circulation**
Huron (S. Dak.) *Huronite* and *Daily Plainsman*	I	11,000
Los Angeles (Calif.) *Times*	R	399,393
Oakland (Calif.) *Tribune*	R	191,597
Worcester (Mass.) *Evening Gazette*	I-R	99,811
Omaha (Neb.) *World-Herald*	I	249,247
Peoria (Ill.) *Journal*	I	68,277
Elmira (N.Y.) *Star Gazette* (Gannett)	I	37,682
Columbia (S.C.) *State*	I-D	69,355
Centralia (Wash.) *Daily Chronicle*	R	9,175
Erie (Pa.) *Daily Times*	I-R	55,865
Saginaw (Mich.) *News*	I	44,883
Butte (Mont.) *Standard*	I-D	17,879
Pueblo (Col.) *Star-Journal*	I	19,705
Meriden (Conn.) *Record*	I-R	14,228
Mobile (Ala.) *Register*	I-D	33,573
Clovis (N.M.) *News Journal*	no pol.	7,656
Minneapolis (Minn.) *Star* (Cowles)	I	295,471
Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel* (Hearst)	I	180,287
Miami (Fla.) *News* (Knight)	I-D	114,331
Canton (Ohio) *Repository*	R	63,342
New York *World Telegram* (Scripps-Howard)	I	555,017

*As reported by *Editor & Publisher*, 1952
I—Independent R—Republican no pol.—no politics
I-D—Independent Democrat I-R—Independent Republican

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of the Christian Science *Monitor*, called this "a serious offense against readers—and against the canons of responsible journalism."

A survey of 26 newspapers made by 94 American authors brought this conclusion:

> Partisanship has been allowed to soak through from its legitimate place on the editorial pages and in signed columns. It has been allowed to infect the very writing of the news and, even more, the way it is displayed. Even photographs have been used to mislead. . . . We believe that in the present circumstances few voters can hope to get a true idea of either candidate's personality, stature or views from our press.

The authors, 24 of whom are Pulitzer prize winners, found all but four of the papers guilty of one or more of the following faults: slanted news stories, prejudiced use of photographs, unfavorable placement of stories concerning Democrats, inadequate coverage of Democratic news and of the campaign as a whole, omission of stories favoring Democrats and the use of headlines reflecting meaning of stories inaccurately.

When the survey was released on October 24, the editors of the papers involved self-righteously denied these points. Roy L. Matson, editor of the Wisconsin *State Journal*, cried: "The criticism can be refuted by our coverage of Stevenson's visit to Madison when 90 percent of the front page was given to the Democratic candidate. . . ." The denial lost its effectiveness, however, since it appeared on the same day that the *State Journal* reported Stevenson's dramatic and newsworthy speech on the Hiss case, charging that both Eisenhower and his foreign-affairs adviser, John Foster Dulles, as members of the Board of Carnegie Endowment had a much closer relationship with Hiss than Stevenson ever had. The *State Journal* deleted from the United Press report of Stevenson's speech *all mention* of the Eisenhower and Dulles connection with Hiss, leaving only the part in which Stevenson spoke of his own deposition.

Another survey for a two-week period of four daily newspapers in San Francisco made by *Frontier* magazine early in the campaign showed that the papers carried 275 column inches of front-page news about Democrats to some 375 about Republicans; a total of 10 photographs of Stevenson occupying some 90 column inches, and 28 photographs of Eisenhower, occupying almost 365 column inches.

Largely because of these reports and letters from all parts of the country deploring the unfair treatment of the campaign news, the *New Republic* decided to make its own survey. The Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., where the *NR* is published, has on file most of the nation's leading daily newspapers. The *NR* selected 21 representative papers (see table, page 17) in large and small towns. Fourteen are in towns where the publisher owns the only newspaper, five are in cities where there are two competing papers, and two are in cities where there are four or more competing papers. Of the 21, nine call themselves Independent, four Independent-Democrat, three Independent-Republican, four Republican, and one has no political category listed in *Editor & Publisher*.

Each of the 21 newspapers was studied from September 1 to the end of October with particular attention given to headline and news play, pictorial presentation of the candidates, and editorial policy, which in nearly every instance either was loudly pro-Eisenhower or anti-Administration. The editors found a variety of ways—some seemingly legitimate and others obviously contrived—to give readers an unbalanced picture of the campaign. Here are some of the methods of news and headline distortion used by editors across the country:

1. GIVING EISENHOWER TOP HEADLINES

The Mobile (Ala.) *Register* gave GOP candidate Eisenhower the headline almost every day by using the Associated Press daily campaign roundup on the front page. The AP story consistently led off with Eisenhower news, the Stevenson news usually constituted the last few paragraphs of the story. And since the stories were usually two-columns long, the Democratic news would be "jumped" to an inside page under the standard head of "Politics" day after day. On September 9, the *Register* carried this headline:

TAFT DELAYING
ALL-OUT DRIVE
FOR CANDIDATE

At the end of this AP dispatch, the readers who turned the page could find a report of Stevenson's speech to the nation's editors on "the real dangers" of developing "a one-party press in a two-party country." On September 10:

DEMOS CALLED
FEARMONGERS,
QUACKS BY IKE

This story ended with a few paragraphs of Stevenson's first major foreign-policy address on Asia at San Francisco.

On October 1:

VERBAL BLASTS CONTINUE
ACROSS POLITICAL FRONT
Ike Says Truman Regime
Scandal-a-Day Affair;
General Attacks Adlai
In Carolina Speech

In the text of this lead story by the AP, readers could

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find Truman's statement that Eisenhower failed to awaken the country to the Soviet threat; and on the page four jump, Stevenson's statement on Bedell Smith's testimony as well as a report of the Governor's first Chicago fireside chat to the American people. The editor of the Mobile *Register* knew this was unfair presentation of the news; and the reporter for the AP who gave Eisenhower the daily lead was equally guilty of deception.

The Peoria (Ill.) *Journal*, which could find no Stevenson news for its headlines from September 1 until September 15 (giving Eisenhower a three-column, three-deck head almost every day), used the same tactic as the Mobile *Register*—the AP stories giving Eisenhower top billing constituted the campaign coverage for its readers.

The Elmira *Star Gazette* presented the campaign reports to its readers in this manner: September 2, banner headline IKE CALLS FOR FULL CLEAN OUT OF WASHINGTON "POLITICAL MESS" and a one-column headline, "Small Detroit Crowd Out to Hear Adlai"; September 3, banner EISENHOWER'S SPECTACULAR SWEEP THROUGH SOUTH RAISES GOP HOPES, and a one-column head, "Stevenson Ignores GOP Fire at Record"; and September 6:

IKE CALLS FOR STRONG FARM PROGRAM
"RUN BY FARMERS"
Stevenson Also
On Plow
Meet Program

2. BURYING THE FAVORABLE DEMOCRATIC NEWS: PLAYING UP THE UNFAVORABLE

When Gov. Jimmy Byrnes of South Carolina and later Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia joined Republican ranks, the newspapers spread the story across the front-pages from coast to coast. If this was important news, and we believe it was, so then was Republican Sen. Wayne Morse's courageous endorsement of Governor Stevenson on October 18. But in the latter instance, five of the newspapers in this survey—the Clovis (N. Mex.) *News Journal*, Mobile (Ala.) *Press-Register*, Saginaw (Mich.) *News*, Peoria (Ill.) *Journal-Star*, Omaha (Neb.) *World-Herald*—did not mention the Morse story in their fat Sunday editions on October 19. Eight of the other 21 papers buried the news on inside pages, giving only a few short paragraphs to this important switch from Ike. The Los Angeles *Times* put the story on page 20; the Oakland (Calif.) *Tribune*, page 13; the Miami *News*, page 12, section 2; the Canton (Ohio) *Repository*, page 31. Six others which have no Sunday editions did not use the story on Monday. The remaining two papers did not have Sunday editions on file at the Library of Congress so they could not be checked on this point.

The technique of playing up unfavorable Democratic news was illustrated in the handling of the disclosure of Governor Stevenson's fund for Illinois office-holders. After the newspapers had reluctantly been forced to put the Nixon Fund on the front page, they seized on the Stevenson Fund and, for the first time since the campaign began, gave Governor Stevenson banner headlines. Most of the papers gave the two funds equal play with such apologetic headlines for Nixon as "Ike Defends Nixon," "Nixon Will Take Case to US," "Nixon Goes to People Tonight," "Nixon Vindicated." The Stevenson banners that followed during the next few days read: "Stevenson Fund Under Fire," "Story of Illinois Fund Is Awaited." The Huron (S. Dak.) *Huronite* and *Daily Plainsman*, on September 24 came out with this front-page splash:

IKE AND NIXON TO MEET TONIGHT
STEVENSON WON'T BARE FUND DETAILS
Demand For Withdrawal From
Presidential Race Ignored by Stevenson

On September 25, the headlines were:

GOP's REUNITE IKE-NIXON TEAM
Ike-Nixon Meeting Provides Setting
For One of Most Dramatic Moments in
Political History; Happy Climax
STEVENSON CONCENTRATES ON
PATCHING DIXIE SPLIT;
EVADES NIXON CHALLENGE

There were no headlines that Stevenson had been "vindicated." In fact, several newspapers editorialized that Stevenson's fund reply was "weak" and, at the same time, carefully ignored Nixon's refusal to reveal his income tax.

3. EDITORIALIZING IN THE HEADLINES

While the position of news stories in a paper is important, the headlines are often the only part of the story completely devoured by readers. Editors pride themselves on their skill at summarizing objectively a long and complicated news report in six or eight words. They are aware of the power of headlines. Frequently during the campaign the editors played up in the headlines the huge crowds of General Eisenhower while relegating mention of equally large crowds for Stevenson or President Truman to the last paragraph. But an even more serious indictment can be made against the editors who by choice of words let their partisan views of the two candidates stand out in the allegedly objective news headlines on the front page of their papers.

When President Truman brought his stumping tour into Milwaukee, Wis., the Hearst-owned Milwaukee *Sentinel* carried this headline on his speech:

Charles C. Sherrod Library
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

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TRUMAN TALK FALLS FLAT

On September 6, the *Sentinel* editor managed to give a pro-Ike twist to one of Stevenson's speeches with this five-column banner:

ADLAI SAYS GOVT.
MESS IS TREASON

When Stevenson made his Milwaukee speech on McCarthyism, the *Sentinel* headlined the October 9 issue:

ADLAI HERE SLAPS IKE, TAFT, JOE

The Omaha *World-Herald* brazenly summarized a story from the Truman train with this two-column head:

TRUMAN DRAGGED CAMPAIGN
DOWN TO WARD-HEELER'S LEVEL

On October 11, readers of the *World-Herald* could select their reading matter from these front-page headlines:

Ike Stresses	**Hiss Wanted**	**Stevenson Gets**
Middle Way	**Adlai Invited**	**Mild Cheers**
For America	**To IPR Meeting**	**In South**

On that same day, down on the page, a one-column headline reading "Ike is Assailed on Red Issue" turned out to be a story on Vice-Presidential candidate John Sparkman's appearance in Omaha. The *World-Herald* delighted in making the GOP "Truth Squad" front-page news but seldom found space for Truman.

The Minneapolis *Tribune* dealt in specifics when reporting the GOP charges:

TRUMAN LEADERS BUSY
CONCEALING CROOKS, CAN'T
BUILD PEACE, IKE ASSERTS

But the *Tribune* dealt in generalities when reporting Stevenson's news on the same day, September 3:

REBEL YELLS FOR
IKE HAUNT
ADLAI ON TRIP

Not untypical of editorialized headlines was the one that appeared in the Centralia *Daily Chronicle* on October 17:

TRUMAN AGAIN
BELITTLES IKE

4. DISCRIMINATING IN FAVOR OF THE REPUBLICANS IN COMPARABLE NEWS EVENTS

Certainly the speeches of General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson before the American Federation of Labor deserved equal treatment in the news columns. And the local appearances of the two Presidential candidates might be expected to receive coverage of at least comparable thoroughness. One of the newspapers, the Saginaw *News*, set an example in both respects for the editors of the other papers in this survey. When the candidates delivered their AFL addresses, the *News* gave them equal space and position: "Ike Tells AFL He Favors Amendment of Taft-Hartley" (Sept. 17) and "Stevenson: Repeal Taft-Hartley" (Sept. 22). When the two candidates visited Saginaw, Eisenhower on October 1 and Stevenson on October 7, the *News* ran a string of pictures across the top of page 1 and in each case devoted almost the full page to the visit. The headlines on the respective dates:

IKE GIVES SAGINAWIANS HURRIED SALUTE
ADLAI RAPS WAR PROSPERITY THEME

Unfortunately, this was not true of most of the papers. To begin with, Senator Sparkman received little press coverage throughout the campaign while Senator Nixon, after his one-man TV show, frequently received news play equal to that given Governor Stevenson. On the AFL speeches, the Mobile *Register* put Eisenhower's speech on page 1 as the lead story:

IKE REAFFIRMS LABOR LAW STAND
IN SPEECH BEFORE AFL LEADERS

But to find Stevenson's remarks before the same convention, readers had to see through the headline:

NIXON TO BARE
PRIVATE FUNDS
ON AIR TONIGHT

At the end of this story, jumped to an inside page, they found a few words on Stevenson's AFL address.

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* put Eisenhower's speech on page 1; Stevenson's on page 2. The Canton *Repository* came up with this curious headline for Eisenhower's address: "Ike Opposes Any Law to Bust Unions"; the Stevenson headline read, "Stevenson Hits Taft Act as He Addresses AFL." The New York *World Telegram's* banner "IKE'S FIGHTING BID STIRS AFL" turned out to be over-enthusiastic in view of the fact that the AFL ultimately endorsed Stevenson. Although this was the first time the AFL had endorsed a Presidential candidate since 1924, some newspapers did not use the story, others gave it a little prominence. The New York *World Telegram* put the story on page two; the Mobile *Register*, the Columbia *State* and the Montana *Standard* gave it one-column heads on page 1; most of the other papers either left it out or buried it. While the Centralia *Daily Chronicle* put Stevenson's AFL endorsement on Sept. 23 at the bottom of page 1, the *Daily Chronicle's* banner headline on Oct. 16 was LABOR LEADER GIVES OKEH TO EISENHOWER—the story, of course, was the announcement by the head of the Carpenters' Union that he would support Ike.

When the Eisenhower bandwagon rolled into San Francisco on October 9 the Oakland *Tribune* gave him banners ("Record 100,000 Throng Hails Eisenhower on Eastbay Visit") and spread huge photographs across the pages—pictures of the crowds, pictures of the Gen-

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eral, pictures of Mamie holding flowers. When Stevenson, eight days later, hit the same city, the *Tribune* carried one page 1 photograph of Adlai and a banner headline: "Stevenson Likens Communist Sweep in Asia to American Revolution." The Worcester *Evening Gazette*, ran headlines and pictures of Eisenhower for three days (October 20, 21, 22) to announce and report his visit; four days later, when Stevenson arrived, the *Gazette* confined its coverage to the day of his appearance and, for a picture, used the unphotogenic one of Stevenson eating breakfast with Mrs. Roosevelt. Stevenson's schedule in the city was carried in a small, page 1 box.

The Montana *Standard*, preparing for a visit by Sen. Richard Nixon, ran banner headlines from September 20 through September 24 on his impending visit, despite the fact that it was the same week that Nixon's finances were under question. When Eisenhower arrived at Columbia, S. C., he was honored with this double banner in the Columbia *State*:

50,000 HEAR EISENHOWER SLAM TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION, COURT S. C.'s EIGHT VOTES

Smiling Skies of Carolina Bid Welcome to A Smiling Ike

Perhaps one of the most startling examples of this technique appeared in a newspaper not included in our survey, the Buffalo (N.Y.) *Evening News* on October 22, the day Stevenson arrived for a swing through the city and a dinner given in his honor that evening. Reporters on the campaign train, handed a copy of the newspaper, found that the only mention of his local appearance was on page 40 (pages 25 to 39 were full-page department store advertisements) where the *News* editors had squeezed Stevenson's itinerary into a three-inch box.

SPOT CHECK OF EDITORIAL POLICY*

	For Ike	*For Adlai*	*Independent*
California	78	13	7
Connecticut	20	0	2
Illinois	52	4	15
Iowa	32	2	4
Massachusetts	22	2	11
Michigan	35	1	5
New Jersey	13	1	5
New York	71	7	9
Ohio	49	5	14
Pennsylvania	83	5	15
Rhode Island	4	0	1
Washington	19	1	2

Source: *Editor & Publisher*

5. THE CAMPAIGN PICTURES

Midway in the campaign, the *NR* had cause to comb the files of the Associated Press and United Press for a good picture of Adlai Stevenson. At that time, the press photographers had snapped at least 10 pictures of Eisenhower for every one of Stevenson. This is important because it was reflected in the newspapers themselves. In all of the papers, pictures of Eisenhower on the front page turned up almost two to one. The Miami *Daily News* carried 26 pictures of Eisenhower to 13 of Stevenson; the Erie *Daily Times*, 12 for Eisenhower and two for Stevenson (the first page 1 picture printed of Stevenson during the campaign was on October 6); Butte, Montana, *Standard*, six of Eisenhower, two of Stevenson; Pueblo *Star-Journal*, 10 of Eisenhower, three of Stevenson; Columbia *State*, 29 for Eisenhower, 10 for Stevenson; the Minneapolis *Tribune*, 16 for Eisenhower and four for Stevenson. The Worcester *Evening Gazette* used pictures for Eisenhower at a rate of two to one. The Meriden *Record*, three to one, and the New York *World Telegram*, four to one. Toward the last few weeks of the campaign the *World Telegram* and a number of other papers used an unusual number of photographs of wounded, grimacing soldiers in Korea.

The Los Angeles *Times*, when Stevenson was speaking in that city, devoted the full top half of page three to a photograph of a wounded GI being carried down a Korean hill. Beneath this, the *Times* placed six small pictures of Stevenson. But when Eisenhower visited, the *Times* gave the General a two-page spread of photographs, 19 pictures throughout the paper.

This is how the one-party press betrayed its responsibility in the autumn of 1952. The conclusion of the campaign may seem to prove to the publishers that they can do this and retain their prestige and following. If the publishers believe this, they are only deceiving themselves. They had great influence this year. But they achieved it at a price they may pay in the years to come:

1. A well-informed electorate which seeks moderate solutions is a far greater safe-guard of our free enterprise society than an ill-informed electorate driven to suspicion of all sources of information, and to belief in extremes, by a one-party press which has kept them in ignorance of moderate reformers such as Stevenson.

2. By sponsoring censorship and abusing its responsibilities, the press is making certain that when public reaction against the new Administration sets in, it will bring with it a different form of censorship—some legislative corrective for a press that won't correct itself.

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GREED AND COMMUNISUM IN MADRAS

by V. Ramamurthi

MADRAS STATE, second largest constituent unit of the Indian union, is today the scene of bitter warfare between the nationalist Congress and the Communist Party. This struggle may well decide the future of South India in the next five years—ultimately, of all India and Pakistan. And although the weight of authority lies with the government for the moment, Madras presents all the classical conditions and symptoms which have led to successful Communist revolutions in other lands.

Fifty-seven million people live in Madras, two-thirds of them on the land. They hold six-tenths of one acre apiece. Two and a half acres is the recognized minimum necessary to support a decent livelihood. In Madras only a fourth of the cultivated land is irrigated, the remainder depends on rain, for which peasants can only pray to God.

Of the agricultural population, 57 percent are landowners. The rest are landless peasants and a larger group of landless laborers.

Agrarian poverty and lack of land is deepened by poor distribution of land and irrigation works. Almost half the land is held in lots of less than three acres; of this only a tenth is irrigated. In contrast, a quarter of the land is held by 2.5 percent of the population; of this two-fifths is irrigated.

As for the landless tenants and laborers, their returns for farm-work have been held down by the competitive tenant demand for land for cultivation, and by the existence of a large "reserve" rural labor force. As a result they have been exploited to an extent unknown even in the pre-reform rice economies of Japan, Korea or China.

Inflation has heightened the contrasts of poverty and wealth in Madras. It has further enriched the old rich and created "the new rich," while impoverishing large sections of the urban and rural population, including the lower middle class. The per-capita real national income is around $10 a year, or two-thirds of the per-capita national income in 1938-39.

India's first brave venture in democracy was staged against this background just eight months ago. The Congress Party in Madras was confident of winning 75 percent of the 375-member State Legislative Assembly. It won only 40 percent of the seats and a bare third of the 20 million votes polled. Although the elections again laid bare the extent and intensity of anti-Congress sentiment, it was not everywhere pro-Communist, but a large and significant layer of pro-Communist feeling was revealed. In its complacency the Congress did not foresee a strengthened Communist opposition, but as second largest party, the Communists naturally took a leading part in the formation of the United Democratic Front with 165 elected members. The Front made a bid for power, but was denied recognition as a single homogeneous party. The task of forming a government was, therefore, entrusted to the Congress. Thus leadership in the bitter struggle rested upon Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, the ablest administrator in all India.

When C.R. accepted this role, the Communists, who had hoped disintegration would spread in Congress ranks, were surprised and doubly angry. They knew the skill and tactical ability of C.R., and, for his part, C.R. recognized their resourcefulness. They had learned strategy and tactics from the works of Lenin and Stalin; but he had learned his from old Hindu-Sanskrit works. C.R. had shaped himself into an administrator, both traditional and modern in statecraft, at once bureaucratic and incorruptible, dictatorial and democratic, bold but pacific, firm while generous. His four-fold strategy to undermine, divide, isolate and destroy the enemy was as simple as it was effective.

Early in May, C.R. announced he would "save the country from the traps and dangers of the Communist Party and that is my policy from A to Z." Both the Communist-dominated United Democratic Front and the Congress Party whipped up public campaigns of hate against each other, and it looked as though the mounting bitterness would block all legislation.

The Communists in fact were perplexed but not frightened. A Communist leader whom I met at the time, quoted Lenin with passion: "Let the bourgeoisie rave. . . . Communists should know that at all events the future belongs to them."

But it soon became clear that C.R. had no tendency to mad raving. He launched a series of measures designed to redress some of the lesser, but more immediate grievances of large groups, to wean them away from Communist influence and to prevent others from being enticed. He undertook these much-needed measures: abolishment of "harassing" restrictions on producers of staple foodgrains; extension of education;

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relief for the distress of unemployed handloom weavers; halting tenant evictions; increasing the crop share and limited security of tenant farmers, and instituting minimum wages for farm laborers in Tanjore—largest rice-producing tract in Madras State—where the Communist-led peasant movement was menacing. C.R. also announced he was preparing an agrarian reform law covering the entire state.

A Communist leader, asked if these measures would not undermine the Communists' mass base and isolate them from the main political life of Madras, answered: "We had sent down roots into considerable sections of the rural underprivileged while we were isolated, by repression and otherwise, from the main political life, as you call it, in 1949-51. The elections proved that our so-called isolation had only strengthened our mass base, not weakened it."

Communists appear to believe only two ways are open to C.R. for eliminating them. One way is to bring about radical changes in the caste system and the inequality of wealth. The other is to bring about a phenomenal increase in production which, by raising the real standards of living of the propertyless classes, can blur or dissipate their awareness of the inequalities of property ownership. Neither of these, the Communists believe, can be accomplished by C.R., so they continue their work with unswerving faith in Lenin's dictum that "the *contagion* [Communism] has very thoroughly permeated the social organism and completely impregnated it" and that "if one of the outlets is stopped up with special care, the *contagion* will find another, sometimes a very unexpected one." This faith gives the average Madras Communist greater strength to make the already difficult problems of Madras well-nigh insoluble, than C.R.'s unswerving faith in God gives him to solve them within the present institutional framework.

C.R. knows this—and he knows that he is old. Still he has hit hard; given continued strength, he can hit still harder. His brilliance has helped him win all the Assembly divisions. And his Party's chances in the municipal elections just begun are considered better than at any time since January, 1952.

In January, the peasants of Madras broke with the Congress Party, bitterly resenting its surrender to the landlords and its refusal to carry out promised reforms. Yet they demonstrated their faith in the democratic process, and this demonstration of restraint followed years marked by peasant revolts, agricultural labor strikes, landlord-tenant battles, organized terrorism, misappropriation of harvests, and forced redistribution of land. It suggested that the agrarian revolution in India had entered a determined but peaceful phase. But, when the elections ended with no single party commanding an absolute majority, the question uppermost in Liberal minds was whether the revolution could be carried further without violence.

Liberal doubts were not entirely dispelled when C.R. remarked that "order and security are the most important co-efficient of wealth." C.R.'s determination certainly was to maintain law and to conserve the established order. He, however, undertook to do this by reform.

Reform is a bitter pill for the privileged classes of India. In their continued obsession with money-grabbing and in their perverse desire to reap the profits of inflation, businessmen and landlords, miscalled producers and traders, blind themselves to the far-sightedness of a Liberal-Conservative like C.R. Ours is a strange society—based on an economy which is singularly unresponsive to any kind of stimuli whether by way of price or wage incentives or by way of production aids and subsidies. It is a stagnant economy of chronic scarcity where even production incentives fall into a distorted course. So the propertied classes, unduly benefiting by the present iniquitous and preferential system of distribution of national income, have been reared in "traditions" of stagnation. The compatibility of more goods and lower prices with fair profits, the economy of high wages, enlightened self-interest and economic security for low-income groups are things unknown to them. Their narrowness, shortsightedness and lack of imagination are truly amazing.

The threat to C.R.'s government comes basically from these forces of stagnation cowering behind him in mortal dread of "the spectre of Communism." And C.R.'s position depends almost entirely on the Assembly which contains a disportionate representation of landlords, businessmen lawyers, and ignoramuses. Between reluctance to give even a little and jealous hunger for everything, C.R. has and will continue to have a desperately hard time. If he fails, there is in all Madras no leader of comparable ability who could succeed him. But will he fail?

It will not, in any case, be a political failure. For he might well succeed in maneuvering the Congress to a position from which it can win an absolute majority of seats in the Assembly.

Nor will it be a spiritual failure. For he might well succeed in reviving the people's faith in God.

His failure, if he fails at all, will be a social and economic failure. Hence he is carefully balancing and coordinating his moves on all fronts from agriculture to culture to attain a level of relative social stability. He has a chance.

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ANTI-AMERICANISM: A MEANS TO POWER

WHEN THE NEW US President examines the Western European political horizon he will probably get a moderately pleasant surprise. Crises—more than the usual number—have occurred, though their echoes weren't loud enough to pierce the din of US electioneering, but they have run their course without creating a disturbing *fait accompli* for the new Chief Executive of the US.

Chances of anything even faintly resembling a European Korea are more remote than ever. In the Cold Peace, with which the Soviets plan to replace the Cold War temporarily, marching orders for European Communists stress peace parades rather than combat.

Of course, the inner contradictions of the capitalist world still exist and may quite possibly grow worse. Weaknesses, often serious, in the links between Europe and the US, and between the European countries, need careful attention. There is, however, no immediate likelihood in Europe of anything like the kind of turmoil that must make a similar *tour d'horizon* of Southern Asia, the Middle East and Africa a harvest of anxieties.

Yet a contradiction does exist in Western Europe which didn't exist in its present form before the US election campaign.

The number of persons in England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece and elsewhere who criticize the US and its policies has definitely increased. So has the vigor of their criticism and the bluntness of its expression. On the other hand, sympathy for Communism has not increased comparably; it has decreased, and with it all the various forms of neutralism, defeatism and willingness to toy with appeasement. Thus, prospects for the success of the "grand design" of defensive co-operation, European and/or Atlantic, certainly a major goal of US policy, have improved.

The key to this paradox is that in most Western European countries anti-Americanism gradually became a greater factor in domestic politics while Presidential candidates were agreeing that pro-Europeanism would remain a factor in US foreign policy. This increased anti-Americanism is almost certain to cause trouble for many European statesmen who have identified themselves with pro-Americanism in domestic struggles for power. But it won't wreck or even damage the European or Atlantic structure because that isn't its goal.

The unavowed but real purpose of the new anti-Americanism is to provide leverage in the political struggles *within* each Western European country, within Europe as a whole, and within the Atlantic Community. Each nation wants to get a bigger and better position in the inevitable internationalism. Each party, group or individual politician tends to use complaints against the US to help it or him exploit domestic discontent for particular power ends.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the new anti-Americanism is that it comes for the most part from the political Right, especially the far Right which inherits the attitudes of Nazism, Fascism, integral nationalism and the Collaboration. Great variations exist in the pattern of kind and degree of use for anti-Americanism as a political lever, depending on whether or not a renascent "old" Right exists or is likely to come into being, and on the relationship between the existing government and this threat.

In England, for example, the existing government, though of the Right, has not repudiated the seminal ideas of the Welfare State. Anti-Americanism has been used as a lever in the struggle for power *within* the Labour Party, rather than between the two parties. Aneurin Bevan and his followers won a great initial victory at Morecombe. If they were forced to move quickly toward a troubled truce with Clement Attlee and the "Americanists," it was because there was abundant proof that anti-Americanism would get more power neither for Labour nor for England. Here—and here alone in Europe—the leverage failed.

In Greece, the heavy-handedness of the Americans who put US policy into effect created a current of anti-Americanism which Marshal Papagos, a Hellenic de Gaulle, may ride to power. Whatever his faults, however, he can be counted on to be more unkind to the Communists than to the US. In Italy, the anti-American "new" Right, neo-Fascists and monarchists, drove the small parties—Liberal, Republican and Democratic Socialist—into the arms of the Christian Democrats. These four have made a deal by which a combined vote of 50.1 percent in next year's election will give them 65 percent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. It is scarcely democratic; yet anti-Americanism has practically guaranteed support for the US democratic policies of Atlanticism and Europeanism.

In Belgium and also in the Netherlands, anti-Americanism helped the pro-American Socialists get a larger share in the government. As in Italy, the leverage here worked in reverse—but it worked. In Germany, the most ardent Americanist in power in all of Western Europe, Konrad Adenauer, may have to fight to keep his office. But Kurt Schumacher's successor, Herr Ollenhauer, is less an anti-American himself than he is an enemy of the neo-Nazis; and if he becomes Chancellor, he will use anti-Americanism only as a lever to get more for Germany.

In France, it is no secret that Premier Antoine Pinay, who would like to succeed Vincent Auriol as president of the republic, talked "tough" to US Ambassador Dunn about US policy and "let" Edouard Herriot talk even tougher about the European Defense Community because he wants to use the currents of anti-Americanism and of dislike for Foreign Minister Robert Schuman for his own and his party's purposes.

With skill and tact, the new US President will have the chance, in France and elsewhere, to tack into the wind of the "new" anti-Americanism on behalf of US policy.

Rome PERCY WINNER

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

CRANE: THE POET AS HERO

by Allen Tate

ANYBODY WHO KNEW Hart Crane will come away from his letters both depressed and relieved. I confess that I hope I shall not have to follow this desperate, melancholy life again. I prefer to cherish, after the violence and the final frustration of a great lyric poet, an image of Crane the poet as hero. What at last destroyed him one cannot quite say, even after the copious evidence that Mr. Weber's ably edited volume puts before us. The clue to the mystery is not here: it seems to lie far back of the written testimony of the letters, in his boyhood, when at eleven he became the "bloody battleground" for his father's and mother's "sex lives and troubles", which ended not only in divorce but in such disorder that the boy was set adrift. The family was by no means poor, but he was not sent to college; he was turned loose in New York when he was seventeen.

THE LETTERS OF HART CRANE *1916-1932*, edited by Brom Weber (Hermitage House; $5).

What astonishes me in the early letters—and what I had not got from Crane himself or from Mr. Horton's excellent biography—is Crane's moral as well as intellectual precocity. He was seventeen when he wrote to his father from New York: "When I perceive one emotion overpowering to a fact, or a statement of reason, then the only manly, worthy, sensible thing to do, is build up the logical side, and attain balance, and in art—*formal expression.*" In 1926, nine years later, he wrote to an anonymous friend: ". . . with the sailor no faith or such is properly *expected*, and how jolly and cordial and warm. . . . *Let my lusts be my ruin, then, since all else is fake and mockery.*"

The intellectual deterioration came more slowly. What had happened to him morally between 1917 and 1926? The letters definitely answer this question. He had been confirmed in his homosexuality and cut off finally from any relationship in which the security necessary to mutual love was possible. I was surprised, after two years of correspondence with him, when in 1924 I met him and learned a little later that he was a homosexual: he had none of the usual characteristics. The violence of his obscenity (particularly about women) and his intense emotional attachments to women his own age (not to middle-aged women) convinced me even then that he was an extreme example of the *unwilling* homosexual. It is significant that his last love affair, quite real if not wholly "committed", was with a woman: his letters to her are in every sense the letters of a man to a woman down to the full implications of physical love.

I emphasize this part of the record because beneath it lies the mystery of the disintegration, at the age of thirty-two, of the most gifted poet of his generation. The "causes" of homosexuality are no doubt as various as the causes of other neuroses. But the effect on the lives of its victims seems to be uniform: they are convinced that they cannot be loved, and they become incapable of loving. This is not to say that they are incapable of strong affection: they are incapable of sustaining it in a sexual relationship. They may have affection *or* sex; or if both, both are diluted and remote. Crane's intensity excluded this compromise. Incidents of the "bloody battleground" that he told me and other friends about in the late twenties have never appeared in print. Is it not reasonable to assume that the hatred and suffering that accompanied the violent sex-life of his parents gave him very specifically the homosexual neurosis? Was it possible for an eleven-year-old boy, or for the man later, to dissociate hate from the sexual relation with a woman? Almost to the end of his life he was still trying to "explain" himself to his mother, and to force from a peculiarly stupid and selfish woman the recognition and love of what he was. He could love her because he could not be her lover. It seems to me that the defection of his mother precipitated the final disaster. He had been endowed with powerful family affections that were progressively frustrated: his letters to his divorced parents are among the most considerate, tender, and moving in literary history. He turned to his friends for the totally committed love, the disinterested *caritas*, that only one's family can sustain and that alone will condone repeatedly violent and aggressive conduct. None of us was capable in the end of taking the place of his family, and that was what he demanded of us; our failure—and I speak here not only for myself but not improperly, I think, for his entire intimate circle—also contributed to the final disaster. But there was for us no other way: we also had families and our own lives.

Out of these conflicts, which in the end became one conflict, emerged a peculiar focus of the intelligence and sensibility that represents "modernism" in its extreme development. (Towards the end he speaks of himself as the "last romantic".) He had an abnormally acute response to the physical world, an exacerbation of the nerve-ends, along with an incapacity to live within the limitations of the human condition. It has become commonplace to describe this as the mentality of "alienation." But the point to bear in mind—and it is amply confirmed by the letters—is that Crane was never *alienated*. He did not reject, he simply could not achieve, in his own life, the full human condition: he did not for a moment suppose that there was a substitute for it. This is borne out not

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only by his poetry—for example, *The Bridge* is not in intention a poem of "rejection," in the tradition of Rimbaud, but of "acceptance," an attempt to assimilate a central tradition; it is confirmed also by his life, reflected day by day, year after year, in the letters. His deepest friendships were not with homosexuals; they were with Malcolm Cowley, Slater Brown, Kenneth Burke, Gorham Munson, Waldo Frank, and myself; it was with these men that he lived the life of the mind and the imagination. He could not pretend that the alienated society of the committed homosexual was complete: for this unhappy person—for his manners and for his irresponsibility—he felt compassion and contempt. There is a Christian doctrine which says that God does not despise conditions. Out of the desperate conditions of his life Crane produced a shining *exemplum* of uncompromising human dignity.

He came to New York at seventeen equipped with an hysterical and disorderly family, almost no formal education, and the cultural inheritance of a middle western small town; his religious training had been in Christian Science. By the time he was twenty-five, before *The Bridge* had scarcely been conceived, he had produced a body of lyric poetry which for originality, distinction, and power, remains the great poetic achievement of his generation. If he is not our twentieth-century poet as hero I do not know where else to look for him.

THE WORLD WE SEE

THE DECISIVE MOMENT, photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson (Simon and Schuster; $12.50).

THIS HANDSOME, expensive volume garnished with blue, green and black cut-outs by Matisse, who designed its cover, strengthens the case for photography as a legitimate form of creative art. Of the one hundred and twenty-six photographs it contains, but few are disappointing and a number of them are matchless. Cartier-Bresson's work in the Near East gives us scenes that might be illustrations from the Old Testament as we grandly imagine it; his studies of India, Indonesia and China flood the page with exoticism, sensuality, poverty and beauty. While his American photographs tend to show more acerbity than his studies of other regions, and strike one as perhaps inadequate representation in this international gallery, individually they bring points of American experience into arresting focus. The first part of the book contains many of his early and previously published photographs. By and large, these show his talent at its best. While his later work has become more fluid and in many ways less art-conscious, this advance has not been made without a noticeable weakening of that formal authority under which, in the early pictures, he was able to record some part of life with a mastery so complete it seemed almost that he had composed it.

The publishers have presented this volume with as much care as they might have taken with a collection of paintings, and Henri Cartier-Bresson himself introduces the selection by putting down his professional credo:

> To me, [he says,] photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms which give that event its proper expression. . . . A balance must be established between these two worlds—the one inside us and the one outside us. . . . In photography, visual organization can stem only from a developed instinct.

We are used nowadays to much self-conscious talk about form by photographers who pretend to something beyond reportage, but in the case of Cartier-Bresson we discover refinements so keen as to dissipate the notion of form as a separate thing. His dominating concern is for achieving an equal impact of subject and design which together compose "the decisive moment" —that instant of tenuous balance between focus and background perceived by the viewer in one observation, but sought for by the photographer among a hundred evanescent choices. This search occurs under two completely opposed sets of conditions. First, when the photographer is confronted with a volatile situation, a story literally unrolling before his eyes which must be stopped at some crucially revealing point, as it were, in mid-air. Second, when having captured on film a series of events, he must choose among them. The importance of this second activity in preparing the record of "the decisive moment" is widely underestimated. For most people, it is more exciting to think that the photographer-genius is possessed by an urge that drives him to strike, cobra-like, at the point of greatest vulnerability. But this is not the case. Like most photographers, journeyman and artist alike, Cartier-Bresson may photograph the same subject scores of times. Yet, until the prints are before him, he may have but intimations of what he has actually recorded. Since he works with inordinate swiftness and an almost mechanical determination to cover every aspect of the event and scene, his work in the field is largely the activity of photographer as selfless efficient instrument, and only to a small degree that of artist. But when, say, a hundred versions of an event have been developed, he knows at a glance which two or three approximate that balance he seeks.

As in all creative endeavor, the artist in photography often loses his main subject, only to find that on the margins and by the way he has come upon something more interesting or significant. For instance, in the photograph from Taos, New Mexico, of the old cowboy, head in hand, mourning among weed-grown headstones, Cartier-Bresson found something he was not after at all. The occasion was the funeral of a prominent landowner. The subject for a photographer aiming at a picture-story obviously lay in the curious mixture of pomp and primitivism: the grandee spirit (a family in black, black lace and mantillas, arriving in a painted coach) and the rough individualism of the West (cowboys and Indians in dungarees and G.I. shoes). All this he recorded in dozens of shots from every possible angle of perspective and concept. When the burial was over with, and the funeral party had begun to disband in every direction, one old cow-hand remained. With an air of finishing up his picture-story reportage, Cartier-

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Bresson almost casually turned the Leica on him. It was this last shot which turned out to be the decisive moment of the occasion. It was *not* the moment revealing most of what had occurred that morning; the funeral was not marked by noticeable displays of emotion by cowboys or townspeople. Rather, the ceremony had been conducted in an atmosphere of formal and grudging respect. Here was an instance in which, like a novelist, Cartier-Bresson was "untrue" to observed real-life material. But, as in the case of many a novelist, his result is another version of truth more interesting and more moving.

Cartier-Bresson's great assets are his ability to work inexhaustibly under pressure and his "developed instinct" for formal significance. The sense of form governing most other photographers is perhaps more classically determined. Consequently they are more apt to record what they set out to record. Working instinctively, Cartier-Bresson is more free. At the same time, relieved of formal preconceptions, he is driven to take many more experimental shots than they. This method of instinct-plus-speed leads to a pose of anonymity on the part of the photographer and, consequently, to an objectivity toward human beings that often approaches contempt. The method of Walker Evans, one of Cartier-Bresson's few peers in modern photography, provides a contrast in point. In perusal of a series of Evans' photographs, one gets a confident sense that these pictures are the products of an artist who knows who he is, where he stands, and who has strong notions that are satisfied in a certain way. A philosophy and a point of view lie behind the photographs and are clarified by them. Evans knows what he wants and how to achieve it. Cartier-Bresson, on the other hand, though equally skillful and resourceful, does not know what he wants until he has it. These differing approaches can result in equally brilliant results, yet we miss, in Cartier-Bresson, a unifying vision that shows in every single work and reaffirms the integrity of a body of work as a whole.

Since one of the legitimate aims of photography is to make a total of observation of the visual world, Cartier-Bresson's method of identifying himself as far as is humanly possible with the inhuman mechanism of his camera is, I suppose, ideal. He is more apt to be in a position to take advantage of magnificent accidents. He is less apt to be bound by puristic standards and the narrower ranges of expression they impose. He may lose, or perhaps remain indifferent to, those signs and evidences that mark the growth of individual artistry; yet this loss may be minor in view of the richness and variety he continually achieves.

JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN

THE SKIN WE SAVE

THE SKIN, by Curzio Malaparte (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50).

CURZIO MALAPARTE, like Thomas Mann in *Dr. Faustus*, has gone down into the pit—those horrors piled upon horrors that were the substance of so much of continental Europe during the war years—and has returned bearing in his arms a miracle. The miracle is *The Skin*, ostensibly a novel but actually an autobiographical account, cast in the form of a series of short stories or episodes, of Malaparte's experiences as Italian liaison officer attached to the American Fifth Army in its drive up the Italian peninsula. The book can perhaps better be described as a dramatic essay on the primal innocence of Americans and on the death of resurrection of the Italian people. As secondary theme, now mockingly, now seriously, it asks the question that haunts us all: who won the war?

At first the reader seems to be entering another chamber of horrors, since Malaparte bows to none in detailed exhibition of the grisly things in the pit. There is the Roman officer who is flattened, literally, by a Sherman tank, and the remains brought home to be laid in state ("this piece of flattened flesh is the true flag of our country; it *was* our country"); the Italians girls selling themselves for a package of cigarettes; the Italian mothers trading their boys to the Moroccans; the "virgin" of Naples who is exhibited to soldiers as a genuine rarity; the people who riot in a blocked-off air raid shelter and rend each other, and the maddened relatives who further mutilate the corpses in a frenzy of possession; the blond "wigs," as they are euphemistically called, the Italian girls wear for the benefit of the American negroes; the finding by Malaparte of his beloved dog Febo who had been his sole companion during his years of political exile and imprisonment—found in a vivisectionist rack, a probe stuck into his exposed liver.

There is irony of a terrible, uncompromising kind, that self-directed irony so common to European art, from Dostoyevski to Rouault, by which the tragic hero turns clown: "All we Europeans know that there are hundreds of ways of acting the clown. Acting the hero, the martyr in the cause of freedom —even these are forms of clowning." But there is extravagant mockery as well, whose effect—and we seem to have no parallel for this in Anglo-American culture—depends upon an implied extension into the macabre, as in the anecdote about how the Neapolitans bluff an American commanding officer into giving them two thousand lire per head for some German prisoners by threatening to make "soap" out of the Germans.

All these motifs interweave with and orchestrate the deepest strain of the book: on the one hand, a bottomless despair and ferocious moral nihilism, whose quintessential expression provides the title, *The Skin*. When a French general asks Malaparte what terrible events, what abysmal collapse had brought the Italians to their present pass, he replies enigmatically:

"Skin."

"Skin? What skin?" said General Guillame.

"Skin," I replied in a low voice. "Our skin, this confounded skin. You've no idea what a man will do, what deeds of heroism and infamy he can accomplish, to save his skin. This—this loathsome skin, do you see?"

But there is on the other hand a muffled ecstasy of flesh, of absolution and of rebirth which becomes explicit only near the close, at the end of the episode recounting the eruption of

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Vesuvius. Here Malaparte turns from nature's destruction to nature at peace and finds green grass, the sea, a lovely girl, a woman suckling a baby, a dog sleeping, everything that is placid and re-generative.

Through this lurid darkness moves the unmoved mover, the American Army antiseptic — big, clean, pink-cheeked, kindly and uncomprehending. Because the Italians are starving, the Americans think somehow that a moral stigma attaches. Half in anger, half in sorrow, never admitting the existence of potential chaos, death and old night in their own well nourished breasts, they act out —distastefully, as an American general observes—the traditional role of conqueror.

The Skin is on one level one of the pleasantest and most complimentary pictures of the American Army yet to come out of Europe, pleasanter by far than anything, except in recruiting posters, that has come out of America; yet, in another sense, it is profoundly if understandingly critical. For the virtue of the Americans, in Malaparte's eyes, is cloistered and untried, and they are shown as being in the condition of Adam and Eve before the fall, unknowing of the true nature of good and evil and thus childlike. But the Italians have eaten of the fruit of the Tree and have descended into the pit so far that they seem to have come out on the other side into an ancient sun. And they have that complex serpent-like knowledge that can say to an uncomprehending American officer, as Malaparte does in the last sentence of the book, "It is a shameful thing to win a war." Now if, admittedly, Malaparte is half in love with his own misery and that of his people and if also it is no sin to be clean, well-fed, simple, and innocent, still when one puts Malaparte up against a Mailer or a Jones or such a post-war British writer as Angus Wilson or against Sartre one wonders who *did* win the war. Whatever the ambiguous answer to this impossible question, it is an Italian who has made of chaos an almost preternatural affirmation which, like the legendary peace of God, passes all understanding.

JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

THE GREAT, STARK FACT

THE TAMING OF NATIONS, by F.S.C. Northrop (Macmillan; $5).

THOSE WHO FOUND illuminating Professor Northrop's widely read book, *The Meeting of East and West*, should welcome his interest in our generation's most urgent practical problem, the establishment of law, and hence of common government, in the new world-wide community which modern science and techniques have for the first time in recorded human history created. They will also guess that, for Northrop, we shall not solve the problem of "world government" until we have understood the cultural assumptions of our neighbors, and where their assumptions and ours overlap or can be brought into accord. With the careful, analytical methods of the scholar, but with the intellectual daring which too few scholars display, Northrop identifies seven "major cultural political units" into which he believes almost the whole of contemporary mankind naturally falls. If his analysis is correct, it is not hard to see why our foreign policy reels and faints: it has been busy trying to divide the world into two cultures, Communist and Free, and wondering what made some of the Free act in such a peculiarly un-American fashion. This is why Northrop's discussion of Korea, Nehru, and us is so extraordinarily illuminating.

One of the cultural units is, of course, governed from Moscow; and Northrop's chapter on "The Theory and Practice of Soviet Russian Communism" is one of the most dispassionate and intellectually provocative discussions of that tortured theme that I have seen, in a period more notable for discussions that are passionate and emotionally provocative. Northrop gives his reasons for holding that Communist doctrine rests on demonstrably false philosophic premises, but his demonstration bears little relation to the anti-Communist talk of our days.

I believe Northrop's most penetrating pages are those in which he contrasts Asia's way of settling a quarrel and ours, Asia's love of mediation and her great shrewdness in mediation, and our Western love of universally applicable law. He is particularly happy in connecting our Western determination to discover universal laws, both in the physical things about us which we subject to scientific investigation, and to the moral problems which we seek to embody in positive law for the common good.

I believe Northrop is least happy in estimating the failure of the West to give more than lip service to the United Nations' attempts to abolish the most disgraceful scandal of our times: mass starvation and disease among most of mankind. The Communists claim they can solve the problem with Communism. We of the West have denounced their offer and have made no real counter-proposal. This is of course an "economic" point, and Northrop is discussing cultures, not economics; but I wonder if even cultures cannot be better understood in relation to this great, stark fact. Yet even this economic point has been illuminated by Northrop's explanation of the difficulty of transferring machines without the point of view that creates machines. Finally, I wish Northrop had pointed out more forcefully why our Korean policy not only horrifies the Asian non-Communist Nehru, but so many West-European non-Communists too.

I make these criticisms because the book is so worth criticizing. I hope every American who has discovered that our foreign policy is a matter of life-and-death importance to us and to all men, will read and reflect on what Northrop has written.

STRINGFELLOW BARR

GREAT EARLIER TASKS

OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION 1620-1647, by William Bradford (Knopf; $6).

SAMUEL MORISON has prepared what he calls a modern, and insists is not a modernized, text of Bradford's history, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, by treating the manuscript as a modern editor would Shakespeare. Since the book was never printed in Bradford's day, and we know not how a seventeenth-century typesetter might have translated the script into print, Mr. Morison is entirely within his rights. He has further rearranged the material as it lies in the manuscript, transporting to Appendices the tedious documentation which Bradford copied into the narrative. Mr. Morison has scrupulously respected Bradford's lan-

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guage, and given us every word that Bradford penned. He aims at introducing that book to a wider public, and it is devoutly to be hoped that many who could not or would not struggle with the eccentric format of an exact reproduction will now enjoy this great and immensely readable work.

Only the most intransigent of purists will object, and they, I suspect, find themselves reduced to defending the ancient orthography and punctuation as a merely aesthetic charm. They can hardly keep up objecting when in this edition they get into the bargain Mr. Morison's engaging notes, which are as lively as we would expect from him and are especially helpful, as also might be expected, on maritime matters.

The only question is that of just how far a great scholar may legitimately go in trying to "sell" a classic to a modern, indifferent or actually resistant public. Mr. Morison suggests that those "not concerned with the religious controversies of the Protestant Reformation" skip the first four chapters and so get at once into the "story." Bradford forgot to give a title to his first chapter; Mr. Morison supplies one in brackets: "The Separatist Interpretation of the Reformation in England." Therein Bradford seizes, fully knowing what he is doing, upon the fatal split that first appeared in the Protestant party among the Marian exiles at Frankfort. Mr. Morison's footnote explains that this was a "row" between those who ultimately became the "left wing of English Protestantism" and those who finally "adopted the typically English compromise."

Now, as a matter of sober fact, this violent altercation was a portent, a forecasting of a century of history—comparable both for ferocity and pregnancy to factional battles among Communist exiles before 1917—and is most inadequately described as a row. Furthermore, so conscious an artist as Bradford (as Mr. Morison makes evident) did not write his first chapters, and put such emphasis upon the Frankfort schism, without intending to make emphatically clear the place of the Plymouth community in world history.

It may indeed be a satisfactory rendering of Bradford's meaning that his introduction sketches a "Separatist" version of the Reformation, but what he was really doing was beginning at the essential beginning, with that fragmentation of a revolutionary movement which propelled him and his band out of Europe altogether and onto the naked shores of Massachusetts. To skip these chapters, to attempt to read Bradford as a story-teller and not as the champion of a splinter group within the revolution, is not to grasp him at all.

This observation, however, does not in any way lessen the editorial achievement, for Mr. Morison, by giving us so literate and handsome a volume, has made a contribution not only to the history but to the literature and culture of the nation. PERRY MILLER

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE

CRIME WITHOUT PUNISHMENT, by Guenther Reinhardt (Hermitage House; $3.50).

DURING the thirties a number of hard-working American correspondents in Europe sat down at their typewriters and, after filing their daily news dispatches, wrote a series of books which were often autobiographical, frequently only reportorial but always informative and usually enormously successful. The group included John Gunther, Vincent Sheean, the late Webb Miller, and, of course, William L. Shirer. They did a superb and vitally necessary job in explaining to sometimes dubious readers the nature of the Nazi menace.

Up to now, no one has done a similarly thoughtful job in summing up the Communist terror. There have been several excellent and, to all but blind fanatics, terrifyingly convincing accounts of life in the Soviet Union's prison camps, Gustav Herling's superlative *A World Apart*, for example; but the foreign correspondents these days have either been too busy or too confused to produce a satisfactory successor either to *Personal History* or *Inside Europe*. Guenther Reinhardt's *Crime Without Punishment*, mainly a study of NKVD and Soviet's espionage activities at home and abroad, is clearly not such a book. In the first place, perhaps because his native tongue is German, Mr. Reinhardt's prose is always murky.

More important, however, is the fact that almost all of his material is undocumented—and undocumentable. Mr. Reinhardt says that he was for seven years "a special employee of the FBI;" moreover, he has worked in Germany for the Counter Intelligence Corps of the US and, according to the jacket of his book, has been a consultant to various Congressional investigating committees. Of necessity, then, most of what he has to say comes from unidentified sources; almost all of his revelations as to the nature of the Communist conspiracy—some so melodramatic that E. Philips Oppenheim would have rejected them, others reasonably logical—must be accepted on faith alone. For instance, Mr. Reinhardt claims that Juliet Stuart Poyntz, the Nebraska-born Communist functionary and, according to the author, Soviet agent, was in 1937 "the first American killed in America by the Soviet secret police." How does he know? Because of a secret report sent to his friend the late Ludwig Lore by the late Leon Trotsky. Reinhardt says he read the report and that it originated in Moscow; in it was the NKVD plan for disposing of Miss Poyntz, who had apparently become disenchanted with the Soviet utopia.

Now all this may be true enough; so may the other often fantastic incidents in Mr. Reinhardt's book—his theory as to the cause of the death in Havana of Arkadi Maslow, an anti-Communist refugee, some hitherto unpublished details of Trotsky's murder, some ideas on the shooting of Carlo Tresca, "confidential" data on the Communist movement in Guatemala, and a good deal more.

But, for the most part, we have to rely on Mr. Reinhardt's word, on classified documents he has seen but the sources of which he cannot reveal, and of information fed him by shadowy figures he can neither name nor identify. Either it is time for the whole story—or, if that is impossible, it is too early for any of it, outside of intelligence files, that is. As published, *Crime Without Punishment* will persuade no one of anything. MERLE MILLER

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BUSINESS MUNIFICENCE

CORPORATION GIVING, by F. Emerson Andrews (Sage Foundation; $4).

AMERICAN corporations are giving a lot of money to charity—probably about a million dollars a day. The total is increasing with great speed; it is already 66 percent higher than the contributions of the foundations for the same purposes, and represents five percent of all the funds available to private philanthropy (which still gets three-quarters of its money from individuals).

The corporations make their gifts despite the fact that in many cases there is some doubt about their legality; the officers get away with it partly because, as is well known, stockholders have little actual control over the actions of companies in which they invest. It is probably true, however, that most of these stockholders do not object, unless the amounts begin to seem excessive.

Most corporation charity is on the local level, and is extorted as a mild blackmail under pressure of public opinion; the Community Chests get about a third of the money, the Red Cross ten percent and other philanthropies and charities about a quarter. (This book deals with genuine charity, not with the fake foundations sometimes set up to evade taxes.) Desire to cheat the federal government of revenue, and especially excess-profit taxes, is another factor; tax rates now go as high as 82 percent of net profits, or even slightly higher where state income taxes exist; this means that corporation giving can be done for only sixteen or eighteen cents on the dollar.

Corporations are entitled to a five percent deduction on money given away for religious, charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes, for rehabilitation of veterans or prevention of cruelty to children. They don't as yet take full advantage of this exemption; when they do, the federal government will have to replace from some source about $1.9 billion of its present tax revenue.

The social implications of this situation are tremendous, and it is surprising that they have been so largely ignored until now. What happens to organizations that are dependent upon corporation gifts, when a depression hits? If it is known that you are getting money from business firms, will private individuals still continue to help? Do corporations try to influence policies of charities they aid, and if so, is this good or bad? Mr. Andrews does not try to answer these questions; he merely assembles the facts on which you can base your own judgment and sets them forth—let us note with gratitude—in English much livelier than is usually found in books of this type. BRUCE BLIVEN

WE LIKE TALLULAH

TALLULAH, by Tallulah Bankhead (Harper; $3.95).

TALLULAH is fully aware that an actress acts out her life, and she has created an irresistible comic role for herself which she is willing to play to the full because she also happens to be a better audience for her antics than those that attend her stage performances. She not only started those rumors about her being lusty, bibulous, malicious, daring, and darling, she tells us how well she lived up to her reputation. The seventeen year old hoyden who jazzed around the Algonquin, for instance, was technically innocent; it wasn't until two years later, in London, that Tallulah really investigated sex and alcohol.

But there is more than genuine candor and scandal to Tallulah. She is full of a surprising intellectual vitality. She knows what she is capable of doing. She turns a piercing social and artistic acumen on contemporary theatre. The little speech with which she once introduced Truman during the 1948 campaign is a memorable document. Its style surpasses that of this book, which occasionally falls victim to the Broadway affectations and circumlocutions of the school of Billy Rose. However, she is head, bust, and shoulders above the likes of Mr. Rose. She doesn't need to cite her stage successes to prove that she has the stuff of a great actress. The evidence is here, in the role she created for herself, and it's a pity our enfeebled theatre has only twice given her parts equal to herself. THEODORE HOFFMAN

CHAPLIN'S MEA CULPA

by Eric Bentley

IT IS MORE than 30 years since Chaplin established himself as the master of a craft. For more than 20 years he has been faced with the question: where do I go from here? A question with two aspects. Technically it is: how am I to adapt myself to the talkies? Spiritually it is: how am I to adapt myself to a new age? For the classic silents are pre-1914 in mentality if not in date.

If we understand how special these questions are in the life of a film actor we are in a position to see how special everything about Chaplin is. The very fact that such questions arise for him betokens a consciousness of talent that is a far rarer phenomenon than talent itself.

Adaptation to the talkies would have been no Herculean task except on his terms: that the talkies be a mould for greatness. Adaptation to a new age would only mean acquiescence in it if Chaplin had not been full of a desire to interpret and to lead. Just as special was what we might call the "coverage" of his mastery: he wasn't merely a great actor, he made his name as the creator of a symbolic role with which he and half the world identified themselves, and hence he was a sort of dramatist. The exploitation of the movie camera chimed with an education in pantomime: the art of Charlie was the result. It all happened naturally, rapidly, and in a very short time. He didn't have to think about it—until people told him what he had done and how great it was, until the movie industry went over to sound, until history, personal and world-wide, inflicted a series of shocks. It is easy to say that, since then, he has done too much thinking, that he now uses all too many words and is over-intellectual, pretentious. It is harder to know what he should do. The most inept thing is to wish he would "just stick to the Tramp" for this is to forget that an artist must develop. The critic, of course, cannot tell him where his future development lies. But, scrutinizing the past, he can discriminate between exploring and merely getting lost. It seems to me that Chaplin's two

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latest films represent a triumph and a failure respectively.

In *Monsieur Verdoux* we found for the first time that Chaplin could use the sound film for all it is worth. And, granted that he probably cannot throw the Tramp off altogether, he brilliantly contrived to turn him upside down to suit the topsy turvy world of the fascist epoch. If *City Lights*, for example, says all that the Chaplin of the early period had to say, *Verdoux* sums up the Chaplin of the later period, the period when he had begun to think and to lose popularity, when his love of women, laughed at in the twenties, had come to be linked, by the logic of the intellectual underworld, with his political leanings. Following *Verdoux, Limelight* is as much a *mea culpa* as any Soviet artist's return to the bosom of Stalin. It is a return to the bosom of the bourgeoisie, and it is expressed in the quintessential bourgeois form of entertainment: sentimental domestic drama.

Adoption of this crude form doesn't stop an artist being pretentious too—as students of Chaplin's father-in-law know to their cost. The corn of Chaplin's drama has a lethal partner in the academicism of the Eglevsky ballet. I saw *Verdoux* half a dozen times and was still discovering fine details the last time. At a second viewing of *Limelight* I found myself chafing at the length of every "serious" passage. The film has neither the richness nor the precision of detail that we have learnt to expect from this great artist. Even his editing is faulty: if the heavy scenes are too long, the light ones are too short. Nor is the story at all points well told. When the prim landlady comes in rollicking drunk we feel that some preparatory scene must be missing. Occasionally—as in a lengthy passage about whores and syphilis—one wonders if different versions of the story are here jumbled as in some Elizabethan bad quarto. More certain is the fact that the real vitality of Chaplin is absent from much of the film and that instead we have the *ersatz* of sentimentality. He can't see for crocodile tears. Instead of the big, lively villain of old we have the Hollywood cliché of a dear old bozo (expertly played by Nigel Bruce). The *mea culpa* attitude is morally repugnant, and, what is perhaps more to the point, it is artistically deleterious.

All this is to judge by the incredibly high standard which Chaplin himself has set. The film is not only better than 999 out of 1000 films, it has passages of the real Chaplin. Outstanding among these, naturally, are the music-hall turns; the appetite whetted by the song in *Modern Times* is here richly fed if by no means sated. It is worth sitting through the "serious" scenes with the Girl not only for her remarkable beauty but because Charlie interrupts them to flirt, briefly and inimitably, with the landlady. There are many (if not enough) characteristic details which illustrate Charlie's vivacity as a comedian and his intelligence as a dramatic realist. When a pungent smell offends his nostrils he quickly examines the sole of his shoes. He pulls out his pants—pressed!—from under the mattress. He makes his room seem a matter of habit and habitation by always knowing (as most actors don't) where the furniture is. By the way he sits in a particular chair he can tell you he is used to sitting in it and how.

But the good things in *Limelight* are exceptional. The film is at best a glorious failure about a glorious failure. The name is Calvero; the portrait on his mantelpiece is that of Chaplin, young. Symbolic autobiography: an amazing conception for a movie man. In *Verdoux* it was brilliantly successful though a little fuzzy on the edges. In *Limelight* the fuzziness is at the center. What analogy is there between a rich and famous film star disliked by an Attorney General and an impoverished old music film hall singer begging in pubs? There wouldn't have to be one, of course—if Chaplin himself hadn't planted the biographical reference and fostered it with tears of self-pity. I don't claim to know in what direction Charlie should proceed. But we can all see various directions in which he should not proceed. One is that of a conciliation which, as many *obiter dicta* in *Limelight* itself bear witness, is really no true conciliation. Charlie must follow his own star even if he lose the Attorney General's 48.

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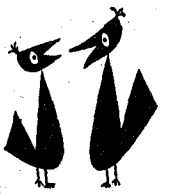

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